National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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A CONVENTION OF COLORED REPUBLICANS.

BALTIMORE CITY, June 5, 1868.

To the Colored Republicans of Kentucky, Missouri, Western Virginia, Delaware and Maryland.

GENTLEMEN: The National Convention of American Republicans, convened at Chicago on May 20th, 1868, has nominated its candidates for the next Presidential Campaign, has established its platform, and has adjourned.

It has remembered the rights and claims of the loyal citizens in the so-called reconstructed States, for which we are undivided in our gratitude, yet, whilst we express our sincere thanks, we deeply regret that no more could have been done for the claims and rights of the loyal citizens of the so-called loyal States, Kentucky, Missouri, Western Virginia, Delaware and Maryland.

In these States not less than 600,000 loyal citizens are left, to-day, without enfranchisement, and with but a beggarly acknowledgement of even their civil rights.

To these 600,000 loyal citizens we direct this call for a Convention, to assemble in the city of Baltimore, on the 4th day of August next, with the view of determining, whether these veteran patriots—who during four long years fought day after day, week after week, month after month, over their own devastated fields, burned homes, and murdered families, for the principle that no stain of disloyalty should disfigure their homesteads—shall be still disenfranchised or not?

The objects of the contemplated convention are:

1. To organize the colored people of these States as a political unit, looking towards equal rights, with decided political machinery.

2. To devise the best means for successfully agitating the reform of the present *unrepublican* constitutions of these States; *unrepublican* in disfranchising not less than 150,000 voters on account of color only.

3. To call the attention of the American people to the wrongful position which we are compelled to occupy in the National Commonwealth.

We cannot but expect good results from a Convention organized for the above stated objects, and anticipate the hearty and continuous co-operation of our brethren in working for the great reform, tending to equal rights for all human beings.

Correspondences as to the modes of election of Delegates, etc., will be received and attended to by CAPT. I. D. OLIVER, *Corresponding Secretary*, care of WM. H. WOOD, Douglass Institute, Baltimore, Md.

Respectfully, yours,

H. J. BROWN, M. D., Rev. A. L. STANFORD, N. B. STERRETT, WALTER SORRELL, Capt. GEO. A. HACKETT, ROBERT B. SORRELL, WM. E. MATTHEWS, Rev. JNO. H. BRICE, CHARLES H. DUTTON, JOHN W. LOCKS, CYRUS M. DIGGS, Rev. H. H. WEBB, S. W. CHASE, J. W. CREEK, M. D., H. C. HAWKINS, Rev. JNO. N. MARS, Rev. J. R. V. THOMAS, Capt. R. PIPER, JAS. H. DAVIS, DANIEL HARRIS, Col. DANIEL YOUNG, of Maryland.

CHARLES LAYTON, P. N. CALDWELL, GEORGE ROGERS, of Delaware.

Rev. DUDLEY ASBURY, WM. THOMAS, GEORGE TROTHER, of Western Virginia.

Rev. WILLIS R. REVELS, Col. FRANK ROBINSON, HENRY WEDLEY, JAMES TURNER, GEORGE WELLS, Rev. WM. WILKINSON, of Missouri.

RICHARD JOHNSON, Rev. JAS. MYERS, STRADFORD STRAWS, WM. H. GIBSON, AUSTIN HUBBARD, SAMUEL SAMUEL, JOSHUA TREVIS, JAMES TURNER, DENIS DORHAM, HENRY ADAMS, of Kentucky.

THE FRIENDS ASSOCIATION FOR THE RELIEF OF THE FREEDMEN.

LETTERS FROM COLORED CHILDREN.

THE Friends' Association for the relief of the Freedmen, of which SAMUEL WILLETS of this city is President, and R. HAYDOCK, Secretary, maintains a school for the children of the freed-people at Bladensburgh, Maryland, which is under the care of Miss SARAH ANN CADWALADER. At the recent annual meeting of the Association in this city several letters from the colored children were read. The Secretary kindly furnishes us the following, as samples for publication. They show aptness for learning on the part of those who have hitherto been regarded as having only a market value as merchandise, and they also indicate the excellence of the quality of the instruction given to the children who write them:

From Matilda Beckett.

BLADENSBURGH, May 6, 1858.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I take this opportunity to write you about our school.

It is letter and arithmetic day. We have no other lesson on Monday but that. Our school is small now. Have thirty pupils on average. So many have gone into service, and are planting corn and potatoes. I read, write and spell, define, study geography and grammar, read in the third reader, cipher in large arithmetic and say mental. Our school is so nice. We have a better chance to learn than when it was so big. Most of the scholars are little this summer. It was such a hard winter. The large ones have to go out. The rebels are bad; they won't pay half wages, and sometimes nothing. No law for colored folks in Maryland. The rebels are so ugly to us, do us bad as they can; so Miss Sallie is trying to get good homes North among her friends for all who can go. Twenty-one have gone up to Montgomery and Bucks Counties, Pennsylvania. More are going on the 16th. The rebels want us to stay and work for nothing, but we know better than that. They say Miss Sallie is a bad friend to us; but we know she is a good one to colored people. The North folks are our friends; they set us free, under God. The secesh say Miss Sallie will get the colored folks North and sell them to Cuba, and not enough to eat, and will have their ears cut off, eyes sewed up, and all such stuff. They told us that before we were free. We trust the Yankees, and love Miss Sallie, and she us. Your letter to us was nice, we love you and will mind. They don't sell liquor in the store and won't never. I am fifteen years old.

MATILDA BECKETT.

From Ellen Beshears.

BLADENSBURGH, May 6, 1868.

DEAR PEOPLE: Our school is about thirty and forty. A great many little ones in the third and fourth classes; only five in the first class now. Will be more after corn is planted. My cousin and brother went North and like it a sight. This is such a rebel place; they swear, drink whiskey, and do bad to us. Don't like it because God sent the Yankee to make us free. Your nice letter, Miss Sallie read to us. We are much obliged for it. We think you are good and we will mind you. We are trying to learn and be good, not drink whiskey, steal, swear, tell falsehood or anything bad. We have little chickens and ducks, and currants most big for pies. I love to come to school and learn. Come to our examination, please, in July. O, but the grass is green and thick, and the trees so pretty with their blossoms. We went out in the woods the first day of May, and saw lots of nice wild flowers, violets, and trailing arbutus. I am twelve years old, going on thirteen.

Your friend, ELLEN BESHEARS.

From Billy Lacy.

BLADENSBURGH, May 6, 1868.

DEAR NORTH FOLKS: I am Billy Lacy, thirteen years old. I know some, but want to know more. My father is dead; mother has no child but me. I want to be a smart, good man, so I can work and take care of mother. I am in the second class; next week I am going to read in the first class. Come see us, please. You are good to us; the Lord will take you to Heaven. I think I like Miss Sallie, and she does me. I won't ever drink whiskey. BILLY.

From Daniel Holland.

BLADENSBURGH, May 18, 1868.

DEAR FOLKS: I was at examination; so was General Howard. We did mighty fine in our lessons and pieces. We looked for you from the North to look at us. We behaved good Miss Sallie said, and she knows. I am going home with Miss Sallie, to live with her brother Charles and go to school next winter. We have big corn down here. My pen is poor, my ink is pale, my love for you will never fail. I prays to the Lord to bless you much. DANIEL HOLLAND.

THE RIGHT OF CONGRESS TO IMPOSE CONDITIONS UPON STATES.

MR. SUMNER, on Wednesday the 10th inst, made in the Senate an able argument in advocacy of the doctrine of the right of Congress to impose conditions upon and to control suffrage in the States.

MR. SUMNER said: What I have to say will be confined to a single topic. I shall speak of the validity and necessity of fundamental conditions on the admission of States into the body of the nation, passing in review objections founded on the asserted equality of States, and also founded on a misinterpretation of the power to determine the qualifications of electors, and that other power to make regulations for the election of certain officers. Here I shall encounter the familiar pretensions of another time no longer put forth by defiant slave-masters, but retained by conscientious Senators, who think they are supporting the Constitution, when they are only echoing the voice of slavery. Fundamental conditions on the admission of States are older than our Constitution, for they appear in the ordinance for the vast territory of the Northwest, adopted anterior to the Constitution itself. In that ordinance there are various conditions of perpetual obligations as articles of compact. Among these is the famous prohibition of slavery. In the early days of our nation nobody thought of questioning the validity of these conditions. Scattered efforts were made to carry slavery into some portions of this region, and, unquestionably, there were spasmodic cases, as in Massachusetts itself; but the ordinance stood firm and unimpeached. An assurance of its authority will be found in the historic fact that in 1820, on the admission of Missouri as a State of the Union, there was a further provision that in all territory of the United States, north of 36 degrees and 30 minutes north latitude, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and hereby is forever prohibited. This was the famous Missouri Compromise. Missouri was admitted as a State without any restriction of slavery, and all the outlying territory east and north was subjected to this condition forever. It will be observed that the condition was in no respect temporary, but that it was forever—thus outlasting any Territorial Government and constituting a fundamental law irrepealable through all time. Surely this condition, perpetual in form, would not have been introduced had it been supposed to be inoperative, had it been regarded as a sham and not a reality. This statute, therefore, testifies to the judgment of Congress at that time. It was only at a later day, and at the demand of slavery, that the validity of the great ordinance of freedom was called in question. Mr. Webster, in his memorable debate with Mr. Hayne, in 1830, vindicated it in language worthy of the cause and of himself, giving to it a palm among the laws by which civilization has been advanced, and asserting its enduring character.

According to these words, which I am sure would not be disowned by the present Chief Justice of the United States, the ordinance is a sublime act, having for its object nothing less than the perpetual maintenance of the genuine principle of American liberty. In form it is a compact unalterable, except by the consent of the parties, and therefore forever. If anything in our history was settled by original authority, supported by tradition and time, it was the binding character of the ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory. Nobody presumed to call it in question, until at last slavery flung down its challenge to everything that was settled for freedom. The great ordinance, with its prohibition of slavery, was not left unassailed. All this makes a strange passage of history. The enlightened civilization of the age was beginning to be felt against slavery, when its representatives turned madly around to confront the angel of light. The madness showed itself by degrees—point by point it made itself manifest in Congress. The slave master forgot morals, history, and the Constitution. Their manifold pretensions resolved themselves into three, in which the others were absorbed—first, that slavery, instead of an evil to be removed, was a blessing to be preserved; secondly, that the right of petition could not be exercised against slavery; thirdly, that in all that concerns slavery State rights were everything, while National rights were nothing. These three pretensions entered into Congress like so many devils and possessed it. The first broke forth in eulogies of slavery, and even in blandishments for the slave trade. The second broke forth in the "Atherton gag," under which the honest, earnest petitions from the national heart against slavery even in the District of Columbia were tabled without reference, and the great right of petition promised by the Constitution became a dead letter. The third, beginning with the denial of the power of the Nation to affix upon new States the perpetual condition of human rights, broke forth in the denial of the power of the Nation over slavery in the Territories or elsewhere, even in the national jurisdiction. These three pretensions all had a common origin, and one was as offensive and unreasonable as the other. The praise of slavery and the repudiation of the right of petition by the enraged slave-sellers was not worse than the pretence of State rights against the power of the Nation to prohibit slavery in the national jurisdiction or to affix righteous conditions upon new States. The first two pretensions have disappeared. These two devils have been cast out. Nobody dares to praise slavery, nobody dares to deny the right of petition. The third pretension has disappeared only so far as it denied the power of the Nation over slavery in the Territories. And we are still doomed to hear in the name of State rights the old cry against conditions upon new States. This devil is not yet entirely cast out. Pardon me if I insist upon putting the National rights over the Territories, the National rights over new States, before their admission, in the same category. These rights not only go together, but they are one and the same. They are not merely companions and cognate, but they are identical. The one is necessarily involved in the other. Prohibition in the Territories is prolonged in conditions upon new States. The ordinance of 1787, which is the great example asserts the perpetuity of all its prohibitions, and this is the rule, alike of laws and statesmanship. Vain were its prohibitions, if they fell dead in presence of the State Government. The pretention is too irrational. The Missouri act takes up the rule asserted in the ordinance, and declares that in certain Territories slavery shall be prohibited forever. A Territorial existence, terminating in a State government, is a short-lived government. Only by recognizing the power of the Nation over the States formed out of the Territory can this government have a meaning above the prattle of childhood or the vaunt of bombasts. The whole pretension against the proposed condition is in the name of State rights, but it cannot be doubted that it may be traced directly to slavery. Shall the pretensions be allowed to prevail now that slavery has disappeared? The principle has fallen; why preserve the incident? The wrong guarded by this pretension has yielded; why should not the pretension yield also? Asserting, as I now do, the validity and necessity of the proposed condition, I would not seem indifferent to the rights of the States in those proper spheres appointed for them. Unquestionably, States have rights under the Constitution which we are bound to respect; nay, more, which are a source of strength and advantage. It is through the States that the people everywhere govern themselves, and our Nation is saved from a central domination. Here is the appointed function of the States. They apply the machinery of local self-government for the convenience of life, while they ward off the attempts of an absorbing imperialism. But there can be no State rights against Human rights, because a State constituting part of a National organization dedicated to human rights may govern itself, and supply the machinery of local self-government. It does not follow that such a State may deny human rights within its borders. State rights, where properly understood, are entirely consistent with the maintenance of human rights by the Nation. The State is not humbled when it receives the mandate of the Nation to do no wrong; nor can the Nation, even when it asserts everywhere within its borders the inspiration of human rights against this righteous supremacy. All pretensions of States must disappear as darkness before the king of day. The song of State rights has for its constant refrain the asserted equality of the States. Is it not strange that words so constantly employed, as a cover for pretension, against human rights cannot be found in the Constitution? It is true that by the law of Nations, all sovereign States, great or small, are equal, but this principle has been extended without authority to States created by the Nation, and made a part of itself. There is but one active provision in the Constitution which treats the States as equal, and this provision shows how this very equality may be waived. Every State, large or small, has two Senators, and the Constitution places this equality of States under its safeguard by providing that "no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate." But this very text contains what lawyers might call a "negative pregnant," being a negation of the right to change this rule, with an affirmation that it may be changed. The State, with its consent, may be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate; and this is the whole testimony of the Constitution to that equality of States which is now asserted in derogation of all compacts or conditions. It is startling to find how constantly the obvious conclusions from the text of the Constitution have been overlooked. Even in the contemplation of the Constitution itself, a State may waive its equal suffrage in the Senate, so as to be represented by a single Senator only. Of course, all this depends on its own concurrence with the Nation. Nothing is said of the manner in which this consent may be given or accepted by the Nation. But if this important limitation can in any way be made the subject of argument or compact, pray, Sir, where will you stop? What other power or prerogative of the State may not be limited? Also, especially, there is nothing in the Constitution against such limitation. All this I adduce simply by way of illustration. There is no question of any limitation in the just sense of this term. A condition in favor of human rights cannot be a limitation on a State or on a citizen.

If we look further and see how the Senatorial equality of States obtained recognition in the Constitution, we shall find new occasion to admire that facility which has accorded to this concession so powerful an influence. So the record is explicit. The National Convention had hardly assembled when the small States came forward with their pretensions. Not content with equal suffrage in the Senate, they insisted upon equal suffrage in the House of Representatives also. They had in their favor the rule of the Continental Congress and also of the Confederation under each State had one vote. Assuming to be independant sovereignties, they had also in their favor the rules of international law. Against these pretensions the large States pleaded the simple rule of justice. There the best minds concurred. On this head the debates of the Convocation are interesting. At an early day we find Mr. Madison moving that the equality of suffrage established by the confederation ought not to prevail in the National Legislature. This proposition, so consistent with reason, was seconded by Gov. Morris, and according to the report, being generally relished, was about to be adopted, when Delaware, by one of her voices on the floor, protested, saying that in case it were adopted it might become the duty of her delegates to retire from the Convention. Such was the earliest cry of secession. Gov. Morris, while observing that the valuable assistance of these delegates could not be lost without real concern, gave his testimony that the change proposed was so fundamental an article in the National Government that it could not be dispensed with. (Eliot's Debates, Vol. V., page 135.) Mr. Madison followed by saying very justly, that whatever reason might have existed for the equality of suffrage when the Union was federal among sovereign States, it must cease when a National Government should be put in its place. Franklin in similar spirit reminded the Convention that the equal suffrage of the States was submitted to originally under a conviction of impropriety, inequality and injustice. (Ibid, p. 181.) This is strong language from the wise old man, but very true. Eldridge Gerry, after deprecating the States as intoxicated with the idea of their sovereignty, said, that the injustice of allowing each an equal vote was long insisted on; that he voted for it, but that it was against his judgment and under the pressure of public danger and the obstinacy of the lesser States. (Ibid, page 259.) Against these overwhelming words of Madison, Morris, Franklin and Gerry, the delegates from Delaware pleaded nothing more than that without an equal suffrage Delaware would have about one-ninetieth for its share in the general councils, while Pennsylvania and Virginia would posses one-third of the whole. And New-Jersey, by her delegates, pleaded also that it would not be safe for Delaware to allow Virginia sixteen times as many votes. (Ibid, page 211.)

On the part of the small States the effort was for power disproportioned to size. On the part of the large States there was a protest against the injustice and inequality, of these pretensions, and especially in a Government, national in its character. The question was settled by the great compromise of the Constitution, according to which representation in the House of Representatives was proportioned to population, while each State was entitled to an equal suffrage in the Senate. To this extent the small States prevailed, and the Senate ever since has testified to the equality of States, or rather, according to the language of the *Federalist* on this very point, it has been the palladium to the residue sovereignty of the States. (*Federalist*, No. 43). Thus by the pertinacity of the small States was this conclusion extorted from the Convention, in defiance of every argument, defiant of justice equality; and now it is exalted into universal rule of Constitutional law before which justice and equality must hide their faces. It must not be disguised that this pretension has another orgin outside the Constitution. This is in the ordinance of 1787, where it is positively provided that any State formed out of the Northwest Territory shall be admitted by its delegates into the Congress of the United States on an equal footing with the original in all respects. (Hickey's Constitution, page 425). Next after the equal suffrage in the Senate stands this provision with its talismanic phrase, "equal footing". New States are to be admitted on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatsoever. This language is strong, but no body can doubt that it must be read in the light of the ordinance where it appears. Read in this light its meaning cannot be questioned. By the ordinance there are no less than six different articles of compact forever unalterable, unless by common consent, constituting so many perpetual safeguards; the first perpetuating religious liberty; the second perpetuating trial by jury, *habeas corpus* and judicial proceedings according to the course of the common law; the third perpetuating the title of the United States in the soil without taxation of the freedom of the rivers as highways, and the liability of the people for a just proportion of the National debt; the fifth perpetuating the right of States to be admitted into the Union on equal footing with other States; and then next in order, the sixth perpetuating freedom, being that immortal condition which is the golden bough of this mighty oak, that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory. Now it is clear to subjection that these perpetual conditions were not considered in any respect inconsistent with that equal footing which was stipulated. Therefore, upon assuming that the States when admitted shall be on an equal footing with others, there can be no hindrance to any conditions by Congress, kindred to those which were the glory of the ordinance. To all who, borrowing a catch word from slavery, assert the equality of States, and oppose the plain text of the Constitution, which contains no such rule except in a single instance, and there the equality may be waived; and I oppose also the ordinance of 1787, which while requiring that new States shall be admitted on an equal footing with other States, teaches by its own great example that the requirement is not inconsistent with the conditions of all kinds and especially in favor of human rights. The equality of States on the lips of slave-masters was natural, for it was a plausible defence against the approach of freedom, but this unauthorized phrase which has deceived so many must be rejected now, so far, at least, as it is employed against the equal rights of all. As one of the old garments of slavery, it must be handed to the flames. From this review it is easy to see that we approach the present question without any impediment or constraint in the Constitution. Not a provision, not a clause, not a sentence, not a phrase in the Constitution can be made an apology even for the present objection—absolutely nothing; and I here challenge reply. Without any support in the Constitution, its partisans borrow one of the worst pretensions of slavery, and utter it now as it was uttered by slave-masters. Once more we hear the voice slavery crying in familiar tones that conditions cannot be imposed on new States; also, that Slavery, which we thought had been slain, is is not entirely dead. Again it stalks into this Chamber like the majesty of buried Denmark, like the King that's dead; and then, like this same ghost, it cries out "swear", and then again "swear", and Senators pledged to freedom take up the old pretension, and swear it anew. For myself, I insist not only that slavery should be buried out of sight, but that all its wretched pretensions, hostile to human rights, shall be buried with it. The conditions upon new States are of two classes: First, those that may be required; second, those that must be required. The first comprehends those conditions which the Nation may consider it advisable to require before admitting a new member into the partnership of the government. The Constitution, in positive words, leaves to the nation a discretion with regard to the admission of new States. The words are, "New States may be admitted into the Union", thus plainly recognizing a latitude under which any conditions, not inconsistent with the Constitution may be required, as by a firm, on the admission of a new partner.

All this is entirely reasonable; but I do not stop to dwell on it, for the condition which I have at heart does not come under this head; it is a fundamental condition in favor of human rights, and is of that essential character that it must be required. Not to require it is to abandon a plain duty—so it seems to me. I speak with all deference to others, but I cannot see it otherwise. The Constitution declares that the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of government. These are grand words, perhaps the grandest in the Constitution, hardly excepting the preamble, which is so full of majestic meaning and such a fountain of National life. Kindred to the preamble is this supreme obligation imposed on the United States to guarantee a Republican government. There it is. You cannot avoid this duty called to its performance. You must supply a practical definition of a Republican government. This, again, you cannot avoid, by your oaths, by all the responsibilities of your position. You must say what in your judgment is a Republican government. You must so decide as not to discredit our fathers and not to give an unworthy example to mankind. Happily the definition is already of record in our own history. Our fathers gave it to us amidst the thunders of Sinai, when they put forth their Declaration of Independence. There it stands in the very front of our great charter, embodied in two simple, self-evident truths, first, that all men are equal in rights, and second, that all just government is founded only on the consent of the governed; the two together, making an axiomatic truth, as plain as the sun. Blind is he who cannot see it. And this is the grand principle bequeathed as a freehold by our fathers. Though often assailed, even by Senators here, it is nevertheless true. It has been attacked; so have savages shot their arrows at the sun. Clearly then this is a Republican government where all have equal rights to participate in the government. I know not if anything can be added. I am sure that nothing can be subtracted. The Constitution itself sets the example of imposing conditions upon the States. Positively it says no State shall enter into any treaty, alliance or confederation; no State shall grant letters of marque or reprisal; no State shall coin money; no State shall grant bills of credit. Again it says, no State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, or keep troops or ships of war in times of peace. All these are conditions in the text of the Constitution, so plain and intelligible as to require no further elucidation. To repeat them on the admission of a State would be superfluous. It is different, however, with their highest condition of all, that the State shall be Republican. This requires repetition and elucidation, so as to remove all doubt of its application, and to vitalize it by declaring what is meant by a Republican government. Here might close this argument, but there are two hostile pretensions which should be exposed, the first founded on a false interpretation of qualification, being nothing less than the impossible assumption that because the State may determine the qualification of, therefore it can make color a criticism of the electoral vote, and the second founded on a false interpretation of the asserted power of the seals to regular suffrage, being nothing else than the impossible assumption that under the power to regulate suffrage, the rights of a whole race may be annihilated. These two pretensions are, of course, derived from slavery. They are hatched from the eggs that the cuckoo bird has left behind; strange that Senators will hatch them. By the Constitution it is provided that "the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures." On this clause Senators build the impossible pretension that a State cannot be interrupted in its disfranchisement of a race. Hence the argument, because a State may determine the qualifications of electors, therefore, it may deprive a whole race of equal rights and of participation in the government. Logically speaking, they are most narrow premises for the widest possible conclusion. On the mere statement, the absurdity is so unspeakable as to recall the kindred pretensions of slavery, that because commerce is lawful, therefore, commerce in human flesh is lawful also. If the consequence were not so offensive, this "argal" might be handed over to consort with that of the Shakesperian grave-digger. But the argument is not merely preposterous, it is insulting to the human understanding—a blow at human nature itself. If I use strong language, it is because such a proclamation of tyranny requires it. Assuming that the State may determine the "qualifications of electors," what then? Obviously it must be according to the legitimate meaning of these words, and here besides tender reason and humanity, two inexhaustible fountains, we have two other sources of authority—the Constitution and the dictionaries of the English language, and out of both we must condemn the intolerable pretension. In the Constitution we find the words follow the Declaration of Independence and refuse to recognize any distinction of color. Search and you will confess that there is no word of color in its text, nor is there anything there on which to found any disfranchisement of a race. The "qualifications," of different officers, as President, Vice-President, Senators and Representatives, are named, but color is not among these. The Constitution, like the Ten Commandments and the beatitudes, embraced all alike within its mandates—all alike within its provisions. There are none who must not obey it—there can be none who cannot claim its advantages. By what title do you exclude a race. The Constitution gives no such title, and you can only find it in yourselves. The fountain is pure; it is only out of yourselves that the waters of bitterness proceed, the dictionaries of our language are in harmony with the Constitution. Look at "qualifications" in Webster or Worcester, the two best authorities of our time, and you will find that the word means fitness, ability, accomplishments, the state of being qualified, but it does not mean color. It embraces age, residence, character, education, and payment of taxes in spite of all those conditions which, when honestly administered, are in the nature of regulations and not of disfranchisement. The English dictionaries most used by the framers of the Constitution were Baily and Johnson. According to Bailey, who was the earliest, this important term is thus defined:

> First. That which fits any person or thing for any particular purpose.
>
> Second. A peculiar faculty, or endowment, or accomplishment.

According to Johnson, who is the highest authority it is thus defined:

> That which makes any person or thing fit. Example: It is in the power of the Prince to make piety and virtue become the fashion if he would make them necessary qualifications for preferment. Example: Good qualifications of mind enable a magistrate to perform his duty and tend to create public esteem of him.

By these definitions this word means fitness or accomplishment, and according to the well-chosen examples from writers like Swift and Atterbury, it means qualities like piety and virtue or like faculties of mind, all of which are more or less within the reach of every human being, but it is impossible to extend this list so as to make color a quality, absolutely impossible. Color is a physical condition, affixed by the God of Nature to a large portion of the human race, and unsurmountable in its character, age, education, residence and property. All these are subject to change, but the Ethiopian cannot change his skin. On this last distinctive circumstance I take my stand. An insurmountable condition is not a qualification, but a disfranchisement. Admit that a State may determine the qualifications of electors, it cannot, under this authority, arbitrarily exclude a whole race. Try this question by examples. Suppose South Carolina, where the blacks are numerous should undertake to exclude the whites from the polls on account of color, would you hesitate to arrest this injustice? You would insist that such a government, sanctioning such a denial of rights, under whatever pretext, could not be Republican. Suppose another State should gravely declare that all with black eyes should be excluded from the polls, and still another should grantly declare that all with black hair should be excluded frem the polls. I am sure you would find it difficult to restrain the mingled derision and indignation which such a pretension must excite; but this fable, pictures your conduct. All this is now gravely done by States, and Senators gravely insist that such conclusion is proper in determining "the qualifications" of electors; like unto the pretensions founded on a misinterpretation of qualifications, is that other founded on a misinterpretation of the asserted power of a State to make regulations. Listen to this pretension, assuming that a State may regulate the elections without the intervention of Congress. It is insisted that it may disfranchise a race because a State may regulate the elective franchise, therefore it may destroy it. Surely it is one thing to regulate and quite another thing to destroy. The power to regulate cannot involve any such conclusion of tyranny to any such wretched result howsoever urged. There is one sufficient reply: *non-segnitur* according to the Constitution, the times, places and manner of holding elections shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof, but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

Here is the test of this portentious power to blast a race. In these simple words no such power can be found, unless the seeker makes the Constitution a reflection of himself. The times, places and manner of holding elections are referred to the States, nothing more, and even these may be altered by Congress, being matters of form and convenience only, in the nature of policy. They are justly included under the head of regulation, like the sword and uniform of the army. Do we not familiarly speak of a regulation sword or a regulation sash? Who will dare to say that under this formal power of regulation a whole race may be despoiled of equal rights and of all participation in the government. This very pretension was anticipated by Mr. Madison, and condemned in advance. Here are his decisive words in the Virginia Convention: "Some States might regulate the elections on the principle of equality, and others might regulate them otherwise. Should the people of any State by any means be deprived of the right of suffrage it was judged proper that it should be determined by the General Government. (Eliot's Debates, vol. 3, page 347). Thus was it expressly understood at the adoption of the Constitution that Congress should have the power to prevent any State, under the pretence of regulating the suffrage, from depriving the people of this right, or from interfering with the principles of equality. Kindred to this statement of Mr. Madison, is that other contemporary testimony which will be found in the *Federalist*, where the irrepealable rights of citizens are recognized without distinction of color. This explicit language cannot be too often quoted. It is only under the pretext that the laws have transferred the negroes into subjects of property that a place is disputed them in the computation of numbers, and it is admitted that if the laws were to restore the rights which have been taken away, the negroes could no longer be refused equal representation with the other inhabitants. (*The Federalist*, No. XXXIV). This testimony is as decisive as it is authentic; consider that it was given in explanation and indication of the Constitution; consider also that the Constitution was commended for adoption by the assertion that on the termination of slavery the negroes could no longer be refused an equal share of representation with the other inhabitants. In the face of this assurance, how can it be now insisted that under the simple power to regulate the suffrage, a State may deny to a whole race that equal share of representation which was promised? Thus from every quarter we are brought to the same inevitable conclusion; therefore, I dismiss the pretense founded on the power to make regulations, as I dismiss that other founded on the power to determine qualifications; each proceeds as a radical misconception. Admit that a State may determine qualification; admit that a State may make regulations, it cannot follow by any rule of logic or favor that under these powers either or both may disfranchise a race. The pretension is too lofty. No such enormous prerogative can be wrung out of any such moderate power. As well say, that because a constable or policeman may keep order in a city, therefore he may inflict the penalty of death, or because a father may impose a proper restraint upon a minor child, therefore he may call him into slavery. We have read of an effort to extract sunbeams out of cucumbers, but the present efforts to extract a cruel prerogative out of the simple words of the Constitution is scarcely less absurd.

I conclude as I began, in favor of requiring conditions from States on their admission into the Nation, and I insist that it is our especial duty in every possible way, by compact and by enactment, to assure among these conditions; the equal rights of all, and the participation of every citizen in the government over him, without which the State cannot be Republican. For the present I confine myself to the question of conditions on the admission of States, without considering the broader obligation of Congress to make equal rights coextensive with the Nation, and thus to harmonize our institutions with the principles of the Declaration of Independence. That other question I leave to another occasion. Meanwhile I protest against the false glosses originally fastened upon the Constitution by Slavery, and now continued, often through unconsiousness of their origin, perverting it to the vilest uses of tyranny. I protest against that exaggeration or pretension, which out of a power to make regulations and to determine qualifications can derive an unrepublican prerogative. I protest against that pretension which would make the associated equality of States the cover for a denial of the equality of man. The one is an artificial rule, relating to artifical bodies; the other is a natural rule, relating to natural bodies. The one is a little more more than a legal fiction; the other is a truth of nature. Here is a distinction which Alexander Hamilton recognized when, in the debates of the Convention, he nobly said: "As States are a collection of individual men, which ought we to respect now—the rights of the people

composing them, or of the artifical beings resulting from the composition? Nothing could be more preposterous or absurd than to sacrifice the former to the latter. (Eliot's Debates, Vol. 5, p. 257). High above States, as high above men, are those commanding principles which can not be denied with impunity. They will be found in the Declaration of Independence, expressed so clearly that all can read them; though few, they are mighty. There is no humility in bending to their behests. As man rises in the scale of being, while walking in obedience to the Divine will, so is a State elevated by these everlasting truths. How can we look for harmony in our country until these principles bear unquestioned sway without any check from the States. That unity for which the Nation longs, with peace and reconciliation in its train, can be assured only through the equal rights of all, proclaimed by the Nation everywhere within its limits and maintained by the National arm. Then will the Constitution be filled and inspired by the Declaration of Independence, so that the two shall be one, with a common life, a common authority, and a common glory.

THE PRESS.

THE *World*, having treated the Chase movement in a non-committal, semi-friendly manner until its own reputation in the Democratic party began to suffer, now defines its true position and that of the party of which it is a mouth-piece in relation to the main question, the rights of the Negro. It says:

CHIEF-JUSTICE CHASE—NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

It is creditable to the manliness and integrity of this distinguished statesman that the recent proposal of some precipitate Democrats and sensational journals to nominate him for the Presidency, has not caused him to swerve from the principles he has always held, nor to practise the least concealment respecting the persistent firmness with which he adheres to them. There has never been any likelihood that he would receive the Democratic nomination; but the political gossip on that subject rendered it proper that he should make it evident to all the world that his impartial bearing during the impeachment trial was not the artifice of a demagogue, who, having been disappointed of a nomination by his own party, stood ready to receive the tender of one from his political opponents. In the impeachment trial, he did his duty with such dignity, fairness, and independence, as merit recognition by the Democratic party; and the constancy and publicity with which he maintains his political opinions should be accepted by Republicans as a proof that the Chief-Justice was influenced by no unworthy motives.

With the opinions which Mr. Chase continues to hold, he is by far too sagacious and clear-sighted a politician to suppose that the Democratic party can have any serious thought of making him its candidate for President. While the party is compelled to recognize the existence of many unwelcome facts which it cannot reverse, it has not changed, and cannot change, its principles. The fact that the negroes will vote in the coming Presidential election is a fact which the Democratic party recognizes only on compulsion, while Chief-Justice Chase regards it with more than complacency, with more than satisfaction, with the joy which attends the fulfilment of a long-cherished hope. What he has so ardently desired, the Democratic party has strenuously resisted and indignantly denounced. The Democratic party may be unable to revoke what has been done; but they certainly are not going to endorse it, as they would virtually do by nominating a man who makes it the cornerstone of his political creed. There is a great difference between submitting to the inevitable from sheer inability to withstand it, and placing ourselves under the guidance of a man who has aided in bringing the evil upon us. We should be glad to see Chief-Justice Chase follow Mr. Blair and Senator Doolittle into the Democratic party; but as he regards negro suffrage as a blessing instead of an atrocious though perhaps irretrievable blunder, we do not see how he and the Democratic party can have any bond of fellowship. We did not object to a parley; but it was certain from the beginning that the mountain would not go to Mahomet, and it appears that Mahomet will not come to the mountain; which, steadfast as the Chief-Justice is, would have been much the easier miracle.

THE *Herald* has had numerous presidential candidates during the past six months. It is now an ardent advocate of the Chase movement. In all its gyrations it never fails to do what it deems most likely for the time to embarrass and obstruct the progress of radicalism. Its motive in advocating now the claims of Chase may be inferred from the following:

THE CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT—CHASE.

Some time ago the conservatives started a movement to cut in between the radicals and copperheads, but they had no head or rallying point, and that movement failed. Now they are trying again and have got on the right track. Chief-Justice Chase is the head, and the Democratic Convention is the rallying point for this new movement. It is formidable and started at the proper time. If Mr. Chase should be nominated his nomination will break up and demoralize the republicans in and out of Congress. The conservative Senators, who killed impeachment and who are already virtually read out of the radical party, would, both from choice and necessity, go for Mr. Chase; and they, with other conservative republican leaders, would draw with them a large vote. Such is the prospect and such would be the result, probably, if the New York Convention should have the good sense to nominate the Chief Justice.

THE New York *Times* proclaims the "Conservative" triumph at the late Chicago Convention, and makes the following significant comment:

THE QUESTION OF SUFFRAGE—REPUDIATION OF THE EXTREMISTS.

The current statement, attributing to the extreme Radicals a feeling of dissatisfaction with the platform adopted at Chicago, is certainly not improbable. The document does not come up to their promises or expectations. They went there in full force, breathing fire and slaughter against those who counseled moderation, and prepared, as they said, with the help of Southern delegations, to compel the party to pledge itself to the most violent views. The aid they relied upon was there too, but they failed, nevertheless, signally on all points.

On the suffrage question particularly we were told to look for a bold utterance of advanced opinions. For months past, Wendell Phillips and his followers have insisted that the establishment of universal suffrage in the South is not sufficient to vindicate the integrity of the Republican policy, or to guarantee to the negro all he is entitled to demand as a result of the war. Mr. Sumner has sustained this opinion in the Senate, and the ultra-Radicals in both Houses have favored it more or less explicitly. At one time the proposal to legislate universal negro enfranchisement into all the States, North as well as South, gained such apparent strength that Mr. Trumbull felt it necessary to expose the unconstitutionality of the measure. Then it was proposed to shape it as a Constitutional amendment, and, so presented, the extremists were united in its support. To this end outside pressure was felt to be essential, and the Chicago Convention was relied upon to engraft the principle of the measure upon the official record of the party's convictions and purposes. Unless this were done, Phillips and his followers have declared the Convention would be false to its trust, and the party would confess itself unworthy of Radical support. An unqualified approval of universal suffrage, black and white, North and South, was, in fact, made the test of the party's conversion to the Radical creed.

Well, the platform has not the faintest recognition of the principle which the extremists declare vital. On the contrary, while asserting that "the guarantee by Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the South was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained," the second resolution explicitly affirms that "*the question of suffrage in all the loyal States properly belongs to the people of those States.*" The extremists are, then, worse than foiled; they are repudiated. The Convention might have allowed the subject to go by default. It has, instead, reaffirmed its adhesion to the good old doctrine which concedes to every State—not compromised by rebellion—entire control of the conditions under which its citizens shall acquire the franchise. The faction that would begin by regulating the franchise in Maryland, as a preliminary to a general measure, is thus snubbed by the only body formally authorized to speak in behalf of the party. As a party, it affords no encouragement to the extremists. * * *

These features of the platform—the substitution ot the Conservative for the Radical view on the suffrage question, and the unceremonious exclusion of the proposed censure of the Senators—would have been noticeable in any circumstances. They derive additional significance, however, from the fact that the extremists were not conceded the compliment of a contest on either subject. What may have taken place in committee of course remains unwritten. But the proceedings show that in the Convention not a word was uttered in support of the principle which Phillips, Sumner & Co., proclaim essential to the integrity and efficiency of the party.

The probable

FUTURE COURSE OF THE SOUTH,

that is of the former ruling white class, is indicated by the following comment of the Richmond (Va.) *Whig*, upon the Republican platform recently adopted at Chicago:

"The latest platform of the very party under whose auspices reconstruction is being carried on, recognizes the States now in their practical relations with the Government as having the exclusive control over suffrage within their borders. Whenever Congress admits the Southern States into the Union, their rights will, even in Radical contemplation, be the same. The Chicago platform will cover them as it now covers the others, and they can call Conventions and regulate suffrage to suit themselves. They will do it, and thus the same question which the Radicals pretend to wish to settle, and which they have declared reconstruction should settle, will remain open. So their pretended reconstruction is no finality, no settlement, no pacification."

CONSERVATISM ON A NEW WAR-PATH.

The following statement is going the rounds of the papers:

It is stated that "many distinguished citizens of Boston and vicinity, of the Republican party, are about tendering the compliment of a public dinner to Senator Fessenden. Gov. Bullock, ex-Gov. Washburn, President Hill of Harvard College, James Russell Lowell, Charles E. Norton, Mr. Dana, Peleg W. Chandler, and A. G. Browne, Jr., are among his intended hosts."

We are in possession of the names of other signers, which we withhold for the present, in the hope that they may yet withdraw them, for we respect those gentlemen too highly not to believe that, upon reflection they will hesitate to put themselves upon public record as approving this movement. *Boston Commonwealth.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 20, 1868.

SIGNS.

HALF a dozen fretful and spleeny Republicans—who would be Democrats if they dared, and knew where they belonged—have offered Mr. Fessenden a public dinner. These very men have been trying, ever since 1862, to put the chicken back into the egg: no wonder they recognize in Fessenden their type and leader. As they will have to make little speeches and, possibly, pass little resolutions, we will generously furnish them a text, the laws made in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries to encourage bows and arrows and prevent the use of gunpowder. With those for a text, and Captain Dalgetty for a speaker, the occasion cannot but be an interesting one. Dame Partington, of course will preside, broom in hand. N. B. When Jonathan Mason, member of the House from Boston, voted for the Missouri compromise, our fathers did *not* offer him a dinner. On the contrary, we boys hissed him in the streets. But the Dana of that day was a poet, with *sweet*, generous blood; and Harvard College had a *live* man, as well as a brave and broad one, for President. *Quantum mutati!*

Reverdy Johnson, a Maryland go-between, is to be minister at London. We warn our British cousins that he represents only the burglars who have got possession of the house, for the moment; that he only represents the dastard city which murdered Massachusetts soldiers in 1861, and then slunk, like a whipped spaniel, at the heels of our Massachusetts soldier, who, if he conquered nowhere else, did certainly throttle Maryland with his left hand and hold New Orleans in his right.

Mr. Reverdy Johnson represents Woolley, Shook, Mrs. Cobb, Weed, Chase and, in part, a timid and disheartened Senate. In the name of Antietam, and the 19th of April, 1861, we aver that no rebel-hearted Senator from a conquered and still treacherous State can represent the American people. His confirmation, "born in the eclipse and rigged with curses dark," only marks low tide in Senatorial instinct and honor. At least we trust that tide can go no lower, even with Maine, Illinois, Kansas and Tennessee to drag it down. We regard the nomination and confirmation of Mr. Johnson, in one point of view, a healthy sign. It shows that the age of Seward-*shams* is passing away. Disease on the surface is much more manageable. What Adams had in his heart, Jefferson Davis, Reverdy Johnson and Garret Davis show plainly on the skin. Our chief objection to Johnson and all border State time-serving is that, being neither hot nor cold, both Northern and Southern earnestness spew it out of their mouths. Alas! that we are reduced to choose our foreign Representatives out of a flunkey State!

Seven States have been readmitted and will soon take their places. No one claims that they are ready or fit for places in Congress. But the Grant party needs them. We sink principle and risk the negro in order to elect Mr. Grant. Mark you, he is so popular that there's hardly need to count the votes. Still, we must risk the presence of more Fowlers and Van Winkles, and peril all the results of the war to insure the election of this marvellously popular soldier! And so Mr. Greeley and *The Independent* wheel into line. Every politician must now wear a gag until November. Expect no truth from any man until the vote is declared. How can we so frame our government that a New York journalist can afford to tell us the truth to-day of Grant as frankly as he does of Franklin Pierce? Will the abolition of the Presidency abolish these quadriennial gags, this intermittent hypocrisy? If so we advocate it. Better have a slower and clumsier government, if that will allow editors to keep a conscience, and Senators to be honest men.

We might multiply *signs*. Everything shows that the era of toadies and place-hunters, of blacklegs, charlatans and gulls has begun. We of the North can survive it. God help and shield the otherwise unsheltered heads of our allies at the South. Men of Maine and Illinois, your garments are stained with blood. The South calls to you from thousands of bloody hearths. Rise up and cleanse your garments. Lift your murderous hands from the necks of those who fought by your side. We knew that Tennessee and Kansas might send assassins into the Senate. The first is a weathercock, ever on the side of the strongest. The second sells her Senatorship to the highest bidder. Half her wealth was plundered from the Indians. All her political machinery consists of traffic in that spoil. If thieves and thimblerig make up the caucus, what wonder that the Candidate's vote is quoted, like other merchandise, on the daily list of the exchange.

But you thought, Maine and Illinois, that you sent honorable men to utter your voices. Hasten to disavow the traitors. Else how will you meet, at the bar of judgment, the murdered men whom their treason has left, for the coming ten months, in the hands of assassins.

In ordinary times votes mean little or nothing, they may be bowed or gestured away in a courtesy. At such times Senatorial courtesy may confirm any one of their Chamber in office. But now votes mean "loyal" or "rebel." How came Reverdy Johnson then to achieve confirmation? In ordinary times a lawyer's crotchet, misplaced in a Senator's brain, shows only a little man in a great place. Now it means murder. Justice Shallow on Shakespeare's page is exquisite fooling. But Justice Shallow answering for Illinois whether she will protect life and execute justice at the South is more than sadness—it is crime.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

RESTORATION—A SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT.

THROUGH the help of negro votes reconstruction, according to the requirements of Congress, has been so far consummated in the States of North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Florida, that a bill for their readmission has passed both the Senate and House of Representatives, and is in the hands of the President. If not vetoed by him, or if re-enacted over his veto, there will shortly be a large accession to the membership of both Houses of Congress, and the six States included in the Restoration Bill, will have resumed their normal relations to the Union.

We think, with the present unsettled condition of Southern society, and a traitor President still in the White House, who has been impeached by a large majority of the votes of both the House of Representatives and the Senate, and by the loyal public opinion of the Nation, this action is premature. Especially was it a needless risk to provide for the readmission of the rebellious States without having submitted an additional amendment to the Federal Constitution, forbidding disfranchisement on account of color, for their ratification as a condition of readmission. This condition otherwise than as embodied in the fundamental law of the Nation, and made uniform in its operation, North and South, is of little value, and is liable, in the next turn of political affairs, to be set aside.

But what has been omitted does not necessarily preclude right action now. There is no doubt that, as at present constituted, the Legislatures of the six States included in the Restoration bill, would very cheerfully ratify at once the additional amendment of the Federal Constitution which we have indicated. We urge therefore, that Congress, before adjourning, initiate the additional amendment to go before the several State Legislatures, North and South, for their ratification. Whatever may have been hitherto the theory of the right of the States to regulate suffrage it is apparent that the vexed question of the negro's political status will not have been disposed of satisfactorily, until he ceases to occupy an exceptional position on account of his color, and his rights are as fully recognized in one part of the Union as another. Nor does the stupid blunder of the second resolution of the Chicago platform render it impracticable, or impolitic for Republicans to advocate the immediate adoption of the amendment we propose. The theory of that unhappy resolution commits suffrage "properly" to the regulation of the people of the (loyal) States, only in the absence of this amendment of the fundamental law. We know that very many Republicans beside the more incisive Radicals, wish the National Constitution so amended as to enfranchise colored citizens upon equal terms with the white in every State of the Union. We say to them that now is the time to initiate and adopt the measure.

We warn Republican party managers that their action in dodging the main question at issue in the recent Convention at Chicago was far from satisfactory to large numbers of Radicals, colored and white, whose votes, if withheld, would inevitably cripple and defeat the party. We print in another column of our present issue a significant call for a Convention to be held in the city of Baltimore in August next which will represent, it is estimated, six hundred thousand proscribed voters in the Border States alone. They justly feel that, while sympathising with the Republican party, as against the Copperheads and Rebels, they have been improperly and needlessly left to an unequal contest with their political enemies. We know also that this discontent and dissatisfaction with the present party attitude of Republicans is shared by leading intelligent colored men throughout the North.

For ourselves we believe it the right and duty of Congress to immediately end the controversy as to the right of the negro to vote, throughout the North, as well as at the South, by the passage of a law forbidding henceforth, his disfranchisement in any State of the Union. But to obviate the uncertainty of conflicting interpretations of the Constitution, and to secure permanence, we hope to see the guarantee of the ballot, and a proviso for popular education, plainly written out, and incorporated in the fundamental law.

The recent emphatic pronunciation of the most liberal and intelligent Democratic organ, *The World* of this city, against negro suffrage, and similar manifestoes from the Democracy of the South and West, foreshadow, if there had been any doubt created by the coquetting with Mr. Chase, that the Copperhead party will, as hitherto, stake its chances of success upon the infamous claim that this is a "white man's government." Let the issue be fairly met upon the basis of such an additional amendment as we urge, and the side upon which the right preponderates will prove to be the one of might and victory.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

AMONG the anniversary meetings of special interest recently held in Boston was the first Annual meeting of the Free Religious Association of which the Rev. O. B. Frothingham, of this city, is President. Some account of this meeting has already appeared in THE STANDARD, given in the letters of our Boston correspondents. Broad and comprehensive in its scope and purpose, enlisting the sincere interest and hearty co-operation of the representatives of widely different opinions, we regard it as a cheering indication of progress in the direction of a truer religious culture. The entire proceedings will soon be given to the public in a pamphlet. To aid in the circulation of this pamphlet, and other printed documents, and for other purposes mentioned in a special notice printed elsewhere, the Secretary makes an appeal for pecuniary aid. We hope it will be liberally responded to.

The coquetting with Mr. Chase on the part of the Democrats has gone about as far as they seem disposed to allow. The *World*, as will be seen from the article we reprint elsewhere, has been compelled by party discipline to abandon the project of a "new departure" for its party on the question of negro suffrage. It is unfortunately too true that the strongest card of the so-called Democracy for use in the pending political campaign is prejudice against the negro in the rank and file of their party. To exchange this for the name of Chief Justice Chase as a Presidential candidate would be, as they very well know, a losing trade.

We invite particular attention to Mr. Sumner's able argument delivered recently in the Senate and presented on our first page, advocating the right of Congress to impose fundamental conditions upon the States. He was followed in the debate, by Senator Yates, of Illinois, in an earnest, straightforward speech in favor of such action on the part of Congress as should forbid hereafter disfranchisement in any State on account of color. Mr. Yates in the course of his speech pertinently asked:

"Suppose South Carolina should say in her Constitution that all black inhabitants should be electors; would Congress sit still and see whites excluded? Why, then, should they not intervene and exercise the powers given them by the Constitution, when Kentucky, Maryland, and Illinois excluded blacks? He urged that Congress should take this stand for the sake of uniformity, of National preservation, instead of having in the States as many standards of citizenship as there are States."

We reiterate, what we have repeatedly urged in these columns, that Congress, before adjourning, should pass a National suffrage law, enfranchising upon equal terms with the whites the thousands of blacks now disfranchised, in the Border and Northern States. The measure is not only important because demanded by justice to a proscribed class, but it would prove expedient and timely, saving more than one doubtful Congressional District from falling into the possession of the negro-hating Copperhead Democracy next November. It should be supplemented also, for greater security and permanence, by an additional amendment of the Federal Constitution.

We commend to the thoughtful consideration of candidates for the presidency, and for the pulpit; and also of all voters for such candidates the following resolution adopted by the Friends of Human Progress at their recent Yearly Meeting held at Waterloo, N. Y.:

Resolved, That we deprecate as injurious and destructive to physical and moral health the use of intoxicating drinks as a beverage, and of tobacco in every form, and that no candidate for the pulpit, or for the presidential chair, is worthy of the suffrages of the enlightened friends of temperance, who habitually uses tobacco, or tampers with the intoxicating bowl.

THE STANDARD.

WE continue to present to old subscribers who renew their subscriptions, and send one new subscriber for the year ($6); or to any who send two new subscribers ($6), one copy either of Wendell Phillips's "Speeches, Lectures and Letters," 562 pages, with steel portrait—price $2.50; or, Lydia Maria Child's "Romance of the Republic," 442 pages—price $2.50; or Caroline H. Dall's "College, Market and Court," 498 pages—price $2.50. We have had frequent assurances during the past year that these valuable books are esteemed a welcome compensation for the slight effort found necessary by our friends to increase, by one or two subscribers each, the circulation and consequent usefulness of THE STANDARD.

To those who have none, the excellent steel portrait of Mr. Phillips' is alone worth the price of the volume of his speeches and lectures which it accompanies.

Mrs. Child's "Romance of the Republic," is one of the most thrilling, and deeply interesting books ever written, involving the rights of the colored people—not excepting Uncle Tom's Cabin.

Mrs. Dall's "College, Market and Court," is by far the most complete presentation in one volume, yet made in this country, of the subject of Woman's rights, in the sphere of industry, in the professions, in society, and in the State. Every home and library into which either, or all three, of these books may enter will be much the richer for it. It is with much pleasure that we send them out upon their mission of good and wholesome influence, accompanied by additional copies of THE STANDARD, at a time when the voice of such a journal is everywhere so greatly needed. As during the two preceding years, so during the present volume, THE STANDARD continues to make a steady gain in subscribers. We wish it might be more rapid, as it easily may be with some earnest effort on the part of those interested in its work.

We subjoin a few extracts of letters from friends, not intended for publication, indicative of the interest felt by the writers, in the work to which THE STANDARD is dedicated, and similar in tone to many others we might present:

ELIZABETH B. CHACE, of Valley Falls, R. I. writes:

"THE STANDARD, always good, was never better than now. It is the last paper I could spare. I look forward to it every week as to the coming of a dear friend. If its principles governed our Nation we should not be as we are, a spectacle for the world's derision."

GEORGE F. HORTON, of Terrytown, Pa, writes:

"The ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD was never, not even the darkest days of Nebraska bills, more needed than it is now. It is almost, if not quite, the only *power* paper of the country."

MRS. E. A. EATON, of Boston, writes:

"I enclose six dollars, three for my subscription to THE STANDARD for 1868, (and I consider the No. for June 6th, worth a year's subscription), and three dollars for a copy of THE STANDARD to be sent to any poor, struggling brother or sister that you may know at the South, who would profit, or be made happier, by the reading of it."

ELIZABETH S. CLYNE, of Hinckley, Ohio, writes:

"Please receive the enclosed five dollars, my subscription for THE STANDARD. I thank God that it is still in its place showing the path of the Nation's duty."

MARGARETTA FORTEN, of Philadelphia, says:

"In these stirring times one cannot afford to miss even a single number of so important a paper."

ALONZO BURTON, of Denmark, Iowa, says:

"Such a paper is just the one for the times."

S. PRESTON, of Oak-Hill, Lancaster Co; Penna. writes:

"Enclosed I send six dollars to pay two years subscription for THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD. It should have been sent sooner, but like some others we have hesitated and held back for a time considering whether it is better to expend it on THE STANDARD or in another direction. But its vigilance and boldness in advocacy of impartial justice, which includes impartial suffrage, as the only honest, and only way out of the evils of the times, decides us in its favor."

CHARLES COLLINS, of Northumberland, Penna. writes:

"Amidst the wide spread wickedness of time-serving politics it is exceedingly refreshing to have access to a publication whose utterances are in constant sympathy with moral truth and righteousness. I hope to get some subscribers for it."

Last week we printed a letter from Mr. EDWARD M. DAVIS of Philadelphia, which, on account of its special value, (in addition to the twenty-five new subscriptions which it covered) in indicating what others may easily do in the same direction, we reprint herewith:

PHILADELPHIA, June 6th, 1868.

To the Editor of the Standard:

I enclose you my check for Seventy-five dollars ($75.) for twenty-five copies of the paper for one year.

My intention is to hand them to my neighbors as a means of teaching them true ideas of Justice and Liberty. Economy and a wise or selfish foresight justify me in this, for if my children and grandchildren are to live where I do, I am doing well for them in seeing that their neighbors are for justice and right.

I wish you to publish this letter in the hope that it may stimulate others to do now with a free hand the work there is laid on this generation.

Very truly,

E. M. DAVIS.

PERSONAL.

It is announced that Ex-Gov Eyre, of Jamaica, will contest the seat of John Stuart Mill, the member of Parliament from Westminster, London, in the coming election.

The Rev. James Fraser, of England, in his recent report on American schools, says: "Taking it for all in all, and as accomplishing the end at which it professes to aim, the English High School at Boston struck me as the model school of the United States. I wish we had a hundred such in England."

Sallie Holley passed through this city on Friday of last week, summoned from New England to Buffalo, by the sudden death of her mother. A wide circle of friends, bound to each other by the links of the great cause to which Miss Holley gives her life, will sympathise most deeply and sincerely with her in this bereavement.

Mrs. Ella Davis Rockwood who was prostrated in Boston in April last by a very severe and dangerous illness, and obliged to cancel the engagements of an extended lecturing campaign in aid of Temperance, is so far restored and improved in health as to entertain the hope of being able to resume her lecturing labors the coming Autumn.

The Rev. O. B. Frothingham preached an eloquent discourse on Sunday morning last in his church, in this city, advocating the removal of the limitations and partition walls of sectarianism.

The *Independance Hellenique* states that a young Cretan lady—A Cretan Joan of Arc—has just arrived in Athens dressed in masculine attire, which she assumed for the purpose of preserving her *incognito* whilst heroically fighting against the Turks in Crete. She has been photographed in her military costume and equipments.

A colored Methodist Bishop, in a meeting recently held in Washington, thus defined his position in relation to the whites: "By equality we mean not to thrust ourselves upon you, nor to have you thrust yourselves upon us. We propose to walk into your parlors when you invite us, and we do not propose that you shall walk into our parlors until we invite you."

Sydney Howard Gay, Esq., formerly editor of THE STANDARD, and for several years, connected with the New York *Tribune* in the very responsible position of managing editor, has, we learn, accepted a call to the editorial staff of the Chicago *Tribune*. A gentleman of superior culture, of excellent critical judgment, and himself one of the best writers ever connected with the New York press, Mr. Gay will be a most valuable addition to the editorial force of the *Tribune* of the West. We hope he may find his new field of labor in every way agreeable, and that it may be attended with a large measure of usefulness and success.

THE *Boston Journal* says:

"Mr. L. D. Rodocanachi, who accompanied Dr. S. G. Howe to Greece, has returned to this country. He left Crete about six weeks since, and he represents the people still unbroken in spirit and determined, notwithstanding their misfortunes, to make the land free or leave their bones among the mountains. There are still fifty thousand men in arms. Over seventy-thousand women and children have left Crete for Greece, and some six or seven thousand women and children are living in caves, and subsisting, at times when supplies sent them from this country and England failed them, on roots and herbs. The soldiers are reduced to the smallest rations, six and a half pounds of flour being a month's allowance. Mr. Rodocanachi has, during his long sojourn, been of invaluable service to the Cretans, and his recital of the sufferings of this noble people, and the outrages committed by the Turks are most thrilling."

JUDGE BOND, of Baltimore, who was one of the speakers, at the recent annual meeting of the New England branch of the Freedman's Union Commission, held in Boston, is reported in *The Freedman's Record*, for June, as saying:

"The position of Maryland was worse than that of the Southern States which had seceded. He doubted the correctness of what had been said of an improved feeling in respect to the negroes having sprung up in the South. The negro was not yet looked upon as a man with human capacities or rights. He feared that the Chicago platform, in what it says about suffrage, would rather hinder than help the good cause in Maryland. He spoke touchingly as well as briefly of the odium which he had encountered as the negro's friend, and of the comfort which he found under it in the negro's gratitude. A Northerner could have no idea of the feelings of the ex-slave master towards black men, or towards the white men who were their friends. Professed Christians were as bitter as those whom they styled unconverted. The clergymen of Baltimore, with the exception of Rev. Mr. Ware and two or three other New England lay men, stood entirely aloof from all efforts to give education to the colored people."

George F. Horton of Terrytown, Penna., in a private letter, enclosing a remittance for THE STANDARD, says: "The slave-power, alias rebellion, is not dead in our country. Under disguise it still fights and triumphs. When our republican Congress dared not to stand for colored suffrage over the whole country, the slave-power triumphed. The same Congress waited till the eleventh hour, and *a little after*, before it dared to commence impeachment. And then it began, but dared not to suspend the unfaithful, reckless, usurping President. The slave-power triumphed again. And now the failure of impeachment need surprise no one. It must needs be. It is the legitimate offspring of the cowardice of the representative of a negro-hating, *free North*. Those who rejoice in the acquittal of the president may lay the flattering unction to their souls. Their joy will be short. Apostate Senators cannot save themselves, much less can they save those who have *spirited* them on. Though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not go unpunished. Rebellion and rum and money will do their dirty work. But they must go down, down, down to the lowest level of the meanest degradation. The All Wise will over-rule it for good to the colored American, and consequently, for the salvation of the country. Radical republicanism has nothing to fear if it will but lay the axe at the root of the tree. Indeminity for the past, security for the future, can only come through the complete enfranchisment of the colored Americans."

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, June 15, 1868.

THERE was some agitation here last week in the Republican branch of politics. The local nominating Conventions on that side were held, and in some measure the results may be of sufficient interest to the readers of THE STANDARD to justify a notice.

The chosen candidate for Mayor is Gen. Hector Tyndale, who received the gratifying compliment of a unanimous vote. The honor is enhanced by reason of the circumstance that the office was unsolicited. It was a free-will offering to the man whom it sought. No begging was employed on the part of the recipient, and there was no resort to insidious means or base appliances. Were this invariably the case, politics would become largely rescued from its habitual mire of corruption.

This nomination is worthy of remark as a conspicuous indication of advanced political sentiment, and all such instances of progress in that domain, although so numerous now and no longer a novelty, are always a source of satisfaction to those in the van. It will be remembered that Hector Tyndale, whom the Republicans of this city have just honored with such voluntary accord, went down among the Virginia fiends in 1859, after the body of John Brown, and restored it to the custody of his relatives and friends. That melancholy act, willingly performed in defiance of popular scorn, contumely and vulgar derision, was noble and heroic. It required, in the state of things then prevailing, a high degree of moral courage, and may be cited as a shining indication of the intrinsic worth of the man. Had Hector Tyndale been Mayor at a time when Alexander Henry held that office, Philadelphia would have been spared some of the disgraceful scenes and incidents, as well as shameful official behests, that occur to the mind with the recollection of our Anti-Slavery Fairs, and the peaceable meetings held in the name of liberty.

Another among the results of these conventions, gratifying to the friends of justice and equal rights, is the renomination of William D. Kelley. The Republicans of the Fourth Congressional District have no inclination to reject their distinguished representative, and no opposition to the choice having any weight or significance was developed in the convention. No doubt is entertained of his re-election.

The Democratic Chase men seem to be assiduously endeavoring to promote the scheme of their favorite for the succession of Andrew Johnson, through the instrumentality of the Fourth of July Convention. They are manifesting a great degree of energy, perseverance, and determination, and it would be a remarkable circumstance should success crown their efforts—remarkable, I mean, if we take up a day out of the present, and set it down amidst the days of only a few months back, when the most radical tongues, in the din and twaddle of the heedless cry for Grant, were garrulous for Chase. There should be no amazement at any event not decreed impossible by the most approved wisdom. Harlequinade plays such wonderful pranks on the chess-board of politics, that we should never be unprepared for fresh and startling vicissitudes.

A conclave of Chase men—not Chess men—assembled one day last week at the Continental Hotel, and did something in the interest of the Chief Justice. Men were there from various States, among them such individuals as Doolittle, Dixon, John J. Cisco, Frederic P. Stanton of Virginia, Amasa Sprague of Rhode Island, and others not so well known as some of these. They declared themselves to be "citizens of the several States," and claimed to act "irrespective of political party affiliation." They desire the nomination of Chase, because they believe the people "would cordially unite upon him as one in whom they might hope for a happy reconciliation" and so forth, and as they considered him best entitled to their confidence and support, they directed the appointment of a committee of one hundred, "to promote his nomination by the Democratic convention at New York, on the Fourth of July next."

The genial Richard D. Webb, the excellent Dublin correspondent of THE STANDARD in days gone by, has been visiting socially among his friends in this vicinity during a brief period, and started to-day for Washington.

W.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, June 14th, 1868.

THE Republicans of this city have had a Faneuil Hall meeting by way of ratification of the doings of the Chicago Convention. To those doings the meeting gave its hearty approval, making no exception to its provision that negroes may still be disfranchised at the pleasure of the majority in any State which did not join in the rebellion. The moral character of the meeting answered to that of its long list of Vice Presidents, the great majority of whom were respectable dead-weights on the Republican party, men far more afraid of progress than of Johnson or slavery. It is agreed by everybody that far the best speech of the evening was made by Mr. John H. Harris, a colored man from North Carolina. He drew a faithful and impressive picture of the struggle of his people against the ascendancy of the rebel element in that State, and of the fact that this very action was bringing all sorts of persecution upon them, and even depriving them, to a great extent, of their means of living. Yet this affecting delineation seemed to bring no sense of shame to the leading Republicans on the platform for their disregard of the negro's claim for gratitude and justice; and probably the only feeling excited by it in the meeting, was satisfaction at the thought that the negroes, before being used up, would have done considerable service to the party.

As an indication how the Church follows "the world" in reformatory action—how piety at length consents to improvements which civilization has adopted—I quote for you two resolutions adopted by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, lately in session at Chicago. The censure here referred to was inflicted for attendance on, and co-operation with, an Anti-Slavery prayer-meeting; and the mover of this recantation was Rev. R. M. Matlack, who had himself been expelled from the Philadelphia Conference for Abolitionism. The resolutions are the following:

"Resolved, 1. That this Conference cannot approve the action of the General Conference of 1836 in censuring certain of its members for publicly speaking against the great evil of slavery; and that we hereby rescind and pronounce void the aforesaid preamble and resolutions."

"After some conversation, the following resolution was then read and adopted."

"2. That the preceding be placed on record in the Journal of this body as a standing testimony to coming generations that we disapprove of oppression in all its forms."

"On motion of G. Haven the Secretary was instructed to send copies of the resolution, rescinding the action of the General Conference of 1836, to the parties censured in that action, and, where the parties are not living, to the members of the families surviving."

"Military necessity," (speaking by the voice of President Lincoln, a man of the world, not of the church), abolished slavery in 1863. The General Convention of the Methodist Episcopal Church met in 1864, but were not then ready for this veto action of their censure against Abolitionists. But now, after taking five years to get accustomed to a reform which "the world" instituted in 1863, the Church steps forward and solemnly records "*a standing testimony to coming generations that we disapprove of oppression in all its forms!*" And yet this body has the impudence to claim that the words of Jesus, "Ye are the salt of the earth; ye are the light of the world"—were spoken prophetically of itself!

The action of the Conference in another particular looks like concession to the spirit of caste.

"The resolutions of the Committee on boundaries being taken up, the following was finally adopted:

"1. That we authorize the bishops who may preside in the Kentucky Conference, at any time within the next four years, if in their judgment the interests of the work shall require it, to organize the colored ministers in said conference into a separate annual conference so far as said colored ministers request, to be called the———Conference; provided that nothing in this resolution be so construed as to impair existing constitutional rights of colored members, on the one hand, or, on the other, to prevent the transfer of white ministers to said conference whenever it may be deemed desirable or expedient."

This plan of organizing colored ministers into a "separate" annual conference in Kentucky is qualified indeed by the clause "so far as said colored ministers request." But we know how the *request* of colored people is obtained in a pro-slavery community. The Colonization Society never carries off a cargo except "with their own consent!"

This provision for Kentucky, however, was exceptional, for full rights of representation were granted to the Southern Conferences that sent colored ministers to this General Conference. But the process of the cause and effect is the same as in the case before mentioned. The decree of "military necessity" that the colored man might bear arms caused in few years, the allowance of his equal vote in the State; and, *after* these two things have been some time in operation, and are gaining, more and more, the consent of mankind, the Church, "the light of the world", ventures to step forward and introduce a similar reform into *her* business.

Another step forward has been taken to this General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, *after* extensive movements in the same direction by highly respectable people in various quarters in "the world". The Conference (in submitting the question whether laymen should be admitted into its own body, to a vote of

the whole church), decided, in spite of strong opposition, that women as well as men might vote on that question. So the women's cause has now, to a certain extent, ecclesiastical as well as secular supporters.

It is good to see the great weight and influence of Church organizations beginning to turn towards the accomplishment of some useful objects. But when a body that boasts itself "the light of the world", and that is constantly calling upon that world to "repent" of its wrong doings, records its cessation from a portion of its own sin in words of arrogance, without the slightest expression of penitence, this spirit of the act must affect our estimate of the Church's character not less than the act itself. All honor to that *minority* in the Church whose faithful testimony rebuke, and exhortation have driven the majority up to these measures of reform; but we must not neglect to recognize the obvious fact that the reformatory character of that minority has grown from influences outside the church, not inside.

A remark of the venerable Dr. Bigelow at the late annual meeting of the Massachusetts Medical Society has been extensively copied in the papers. This eminent physician refers the uninterrupted health he has enjoyed during a long and active life to three causes; "Temperence, hard work, and abstinence from medicine". In the sanitary importance of the last of these items Dr. Bigelow has long been a believer. A wit and satirist himself, he sees how large a proportion of the people who undertake to prescribe medicine fulfill the old definition—"putting drugs of which they know little, into a body of which they know less, to cure a disease of which they know nothing". Considering the amount of ignorant and irregular medical practice, he once expressed a doubt whether, on the whole, the attempt to cure disease had not done as much harm as good. Mankind, he said, seems to have a natural tendency to take medicine; and the use of the medical profession is to restrain and regulate that propensity.

Dr. Bigelow was, for a long time, Professor of *Materia Medica* in the Medical School of Harvard University, and also Visiting Physician at the Massachusetts General Hospital. It was a constant source of wonder to the medical students who attended his practice in the Hospital, that he ordered so much medicine there, after they had heard, in his lectures, a good deal of uncertainty expressed in regard to the remedial efficacy of medicinal substances. I judge, however, that the Doctor's object in this profuse admistration of medicine (a feature obvious in his private practice as well as his Hospital practice) was "to amuse the patient while nature cured the disease". He recognized the fact that men and women, even those well educated otherwise, repose firm faith in drugs as having a healing power; and perceiving also, no doubt, the difficulty of removing those persuasions which belong to a man's mental condition, he spared himself the trouble of attempting to *educate* the invalid, but directed his way of living aright to counteract the disease, and gave plenty of bitter medicine which, being the object of the ignorant patient's trust, kept his mind in that hopeful state which so greatly assists the convalescence of the body. By this method, I doubt not, he has conducted many a person safety to health, who, if the Doctor had prescribed no more medicine than he himself thought needful for recovery, would first have thought himself unreasonably neglected, and would then have taken umbrage and gone to a quack for pills and powders.

NORTH.

FROM WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 12, 1868.

To the Editor of the Standard:

THE feeling of disappointment and despondency pervading many of our radical friends since the meeting of the Chicago Convention would seem to indicate a belief on their part that the Republican party was thoroughly imbued with the same earnest radical inspiration that gives tone and directness to the Anti-Slavery and other radical organizations. Such a belief should not have been one moment entertained. The Republican party was not, and cannot from the nature of things for many years in the future, become a thoroughly radical organization. The utmost that could be said in its favor was, it contained within its organization a little radical leaven capable, had it not been violently and speedily counteracted, of eventually leavening the whole party. There was no reasonable ground of hope or expectation that a political organization controlled and led by intriguing Conservatives, worshippers at the shrine of present party success, regardless of the sacrifice of principle and honesty required to secure it; men without faith in God or confidence in man; persons long practised in the manipulation of caucus managing, and who regard an election as a thing of intrigue and speculation would dare to adopt a platform speaking the direct, earnest language of honest radicalism, or nominate candidates thoroughly pervaded with the spirit of revolution and progress. Revolution and progress is what strong party organizations most fear, and in their declarations of faith, new and agitating questions are always carefully avoided, and candidates are selected destitute of opinions on any subject whatever. Ability, frank honesty and outspoken views, manly courage and an original mind stored with political knowledge sufficient to qualify a man for lead and rule in a great, powerful and intelligent Republic would defeat any candidate before a party nominating Convention. Party Conventions generally select candidates without ideas and destitute of energy of character sufficient to make personal enemies—men seized with so violent a lock-jaw as to make it impossible to pry open their mouths wider upon any subject than the quacks and knaves who manage caucuses shall from time to time deem healthful and expedient. In fact, an impressible figure-head of wax, ready to receive any impression it may be deemed desirable to stamp upon it, is just the character of a candidate party conventions select, and the Republican party selected one at Chicago who in his acceptance promises faithfully to fill the bill.

It is not at all surprising that the Chicago Convention was as moderate and peaceable as any fossilized Conservative could wish, and its candidates as good-natured, pliable and non-committaf as the articles of political faith embodied in its platform. That body too well understood the party need of votes to frighten any faint-hearted, nervous adherents with the roar of a real radical lion, and so contented itself with a counterfeit animal roaring as gently as a conservative (dove?) The only thing surprising in the matter is the fact that any honest, earnest radical should in a moment of exultation have so far given way to the feelings of hope as to seriously expect anything better from such a body of trimmers and pedlars.

Any man who will at some future time exert influence, power and pluck enough to successfully defy caucuses and National Conventions in the nomination of candidates for the Presidency, will perform an infinitely greater service to the cause of freedom, virtue and republicanism than was ever yet performed by any general upon the battle-field. The vast corruptions that pervade every branch of the public service, and the incapacity and criminal depravity found in official positions is mainly attributable to the baleful influence exerted upon public affairs by the caucus system. It is rapidly crushing out the manhood of the Nation, and unless soon crushed out will convert the young ambitious men of the Nation into crawling, cringing worshippers of power, and sycophantic followers of men who peddle out places of honor and profit. And the continuance of the system is not in any way necessary to the securing of good and noble Presidents. We have had as able and as good Presidents previous to the date of holding National Conventions, as we have had since. The first National Convention for the nomination of Presidential candidates was held in 1836, and nominated Martin Van Buren. Previous to that time the people elected the Washingtons, Jeffersons, Adams, Madisons and Jacksons to the Presidential office, while since the adoption of the Convention system we have been content with Tylers, Filmores, Johnsons, Pierces and Buchanans. There is no good reason for continuing that mode of nomination, and it will be a happy day for the Nation when the last nominating convention shall have been held.

Radicalism has been twice defied by the Republican party within five years, and trifled with on all great questions of public interest. It was defied in 1864 in the nominations and platform, and again in 1868. That defiance was successful in 1864 because of the unselfish patriotism of the radical element, who smothered their resentmentment rather than endanger the perpetuity of the Union by permitting the success of the party of peace at any price. It remains to be seen whether the defiance of 1868 will be equally successful. It certainly would not be were the rights of freedmen to the ballot in the recently rebellious States firmly established. As matters now stand, it remains for the action of the Democratic party at its Convention on the 4th of July next, to determine whether this defiance of 1868 should meet with merited resentment or not. Should that party be miraculously seized with sagacity enough to discern the needs of the present and requirements of the future, it would relieve the Radicals of the necessity of submitting to the insulting defiance of the Chicago Convention lest reconstruction shall be defeated, and the loyal white and black men of the recently rebellious States be turned over to the tender mercies of their oppressors and persecutors. But it is folly to spend time in speculating upon the consequences of the Democratic Convention adopting a course such as could receive the support or sanction of the true and earnest radical men of the Nation. The Sharkeys, Stuarts, Baldwins, Filmores, Reeds, Traams, Van Trumps, and other old Whig fossils who now hold the destinies of the Democratic party organization in the hollow of their hands, will never consent to the adoption of any other platform than that of undying hostility to radicalism, or the nomination of any candidate other than a mere mummy resurrected from the tombs of a former age. Having slept a death sleep during the progress of the last twenty years, they are as much out of place in the living activities of the present as would be a galvanized corpse in the merry dance of a ball-room.

There being no possibility of the approaching Democratic National Convention taking steps in the direction of National peace and National reconstruction, it is proper to consider what action should be taken by the true Radicals of the Nation in the approaching Presidential contest. That action should be so shaped as to make their power most strongly felt, and prepare them to enter upon the contest of 1872 as victors. That can be best accomplished by the calling of a National Convention early in August or September, and laying down a platform of principles, and organizing a party in every State of the Union that will be able, hereafter, to prevent the election of a single Conservative, Republican or Democrat in the Union. It may not, and I believe it will not be well to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President at this election, but it is proper to call into life an organized radical Democracy to wage unrelenting war upon every form of conservatism, whether found in the Republican or Democratic party organizations. Such an organized power would become the party of the future and force the administration of Gen. Grant to adopt its policy or become more odious to the people than that of Andrew Johnson has been. With an organized Radical Democracy, neither expecting nor asking favor of the incoming administration, Gen. Grant could not successfully contend one year. He would be forced to yield to its demands or go over to the conservative Democracy and disgracefully fail in his administration. Neither could the Republican party survive such an organization one year; it would be left without life, without soul, composed of a few imbecile leaders destitute of followers. Before December, 1869, every true, earnest lover of freedom would become absorbed in the new radical Democratic organization, and leave to the timid, crawling Republican organization only an habitation among the tombs.

There has never been a more favorable opportunity for organizing a new political party than the present. Both the Republican and Democratic organizations are under the lead of men of narrow views, blind to the necessities of the present and the requirements of the future. Instead of courageously adopting and attempting to carry out a liberal policy dictated by the increased intelligence and radical Democratic tendencies of the age, they are laboring to force the Nation backward to the position it occupied previous to the war. They seem to think the trade and commerce and National expenditures can all be forced into the narrow limits of 1859, and that the people in the present age of general achievements and magnificent development will be better satisfied with the saving of a few dollars than with the development and expansion of the Republic. A party formed upon the principle of making the expansion, glory and development of the Republic, and the Democratizing and liberalizing of the National and State governments, its principles of action would become the ruling political organization of the Nation before 1872. What the people require of Congress is a policy, magnificent and grasping enough to amaze the world by its vastness and grandeur, not a mere two-penny policy dictated by miserly meanness. The American people would have much more willingly and enthusiastically supported the Republican nominees had that party boldly declared in its platform in favor of a liberal commercial and foreign policy, made the annexation of territory part of its creed and entered immediately and unequivocally upon a liberal policy of aid to works of internal improvement. There are not ten persons out of eleven of the population who desire the policy of meanness now pursued by Congress, or favor the continuance one hour longer of the National Bank system now rapidly eating up the sustenance of the Nation and prostrating its industrial pursuits. What our people desire is honest dealing with all Nations, liberal aid to railroads and works of internal improvement, the restoration of commerce, the development of our internal resources, the extension of the Republic over the whole continent and the islands of the sea, and and that is just what Republican and Democratic members of Congress seem determined shall not be the course and aim of Legislation. They seem to believe the people are all like unto themselves, miserly and narrow-minded, and ready to be better satisfied with saving a cent than Republicanizing a continent and developing its material resources. The American masses are not misers, and care much less for bankers, gold gamblers, and Wall street brokers than they do for the development of the Nation, and the progress of humanity in the direction of Christian civilization, and that the Washburnes and other miserly men who advise the repudiation of National power, and the refusal to pay a portion of the National debt, will find out to their sorrow unless they change their course right suddenly. A party that talks about the sacredness of the National debt, and then refuses to pay a draft down pursuant to the provisions of a treaty made and ratified in manner provided by the Constitution of the United States, must not be surprised to find the people one day getting ready to repudiate National debts contracted under acts of Congress. The debt due Russia for the territory of Alaska, is just as honorable and sacred, and as much binding in law and power upon the Nation as any other debt, and will be so considered by everybody but mere peddling politicians. At any rate, should the bankers and gold gamblers, and bondholders now demanding gold for their bonds, defeat the Alaska purchase, they must be prepared to see repudiation applied to other portions of the debt than that contracted for the purchase of Russian America. The Republican party can never escape the odium of repudiation in its most disreputable character if it repudiates the debt for the Russian purchase. Bondholders will do well to reflect upon that view of the subject before defeating the Russian treaty. Whatever may be said of the morality of the proceeding, a repudiation of the Russian debt will be the signal for general repudiation, and that repudiation will be fathered upon the Republican party. This may be considered strong language, and thought an unfair mode of presenting the question, but it is what will be the judgment of the American people upon that transaction. The refusal to make appropriation to carry out the Russian treaty will produce results not contracted for by the men who are, from motives of spite and hatred of Mr. Seward, preparing to dishonor the Nation.

The Republican party will lose votes and States by rejecting the Russian purchase and defeating bills aiding in the construction of railroads; and that may as well be told Republican members of Congress first as last.

CHARLES E. MOSS.

GOVERNOR EYRE.

LONDON, May 2d, 1868.

Every sort of influence has been unscrupulously used to screen Mr. Eyre from a trial, but the Jamaica Committee have at last carried their point. Eyre has had to undergo an examination before a Bow street magistrate, as criminals of less degree do every day, has been committed for trial, and must go before the Court of Queen's Bench, and abide by the verdict of a jury on his misdeeds. The courage and self-sacrificing spirit of the Jamaica Committee, who have brought this about, are beyond praise. It is still more than doubtful whether a conviction can be obtained, but the trial will be a heavier blow to Eyre than even a conviction. Already, on the hearing in police court, the story of those barbarous murders and floggings has been once more told, and Eyre's direct personal responsibility for them demonstrated. He made no denial, and no defense, and his counsel limited their efforts to abuse of the Jamaica Committee. If the prosecution should have no other effect, it will at least keep Eyre out of his expected reward from a Tory Government. It has always been understood that as soon as the legal proceedings were abandoned, the Ministry would confer on him an appointment of dignity and profit. They cannot decently do it while he is liable to appear at any moment in the felon's dock of a criminal court. Private friends may still stand by him, and do. Sir Roderick Murchison publishes this morning a letter from himself and Lord Overstone, the former confining himself to expressions of sympathy, the latter covering his bad English by a check for £200. Lord Overstone was formerly Samuel Jones Loyd, a London banker of great wealth, made a Peer in 1850, nominally a Liberal, but a man of no strength outside his banking business. He was converted from indifference to sympathy by Eyre's speech on his commitment—a speech which with sensible men did much harm, which was angry and melodramatic, and reveals him in his true character, that of a headstrong man who would scruple at no violence to enforce a policy on which he had once resolved. In the House, a Tory Major has given notice he will ask the Premier whether he does not mean to afford to Mr. Eyre some legal assistance. The Tories are in truth rather tired of putting their hands in their pockets for Mr. Eyre's defense, and would prefer to put them into the Treasury. In their judgment the public ought to pay for the privilege of being flogged and hanged by an energetic Governor and his lawless court-martial.

George W. Smalley—Tribune's London Correspondence.

THE TRIAL OF EX-GOV. EYRE.

LONDON, June 8.

Chief Justice Cockburn states that the charge delivered by Judge Blackburn to the grand jury which recently refused to bring a bill of indictment against ex- Gov. Eyre of Jamaica, is contrary to the opinion of the majority of the Court of Queen's Bench.

FROM VIRGINIA.

To the Editor of the Standard:

MAY not the impeachment of the President yet succeed? The failure of impeachment thus far, strengthens those of rebel hearts here at the South; weakens the energies of the loyal, and retards the immigration which we so much need. But here is far more serious trouble, which the whole Nation should look in the face: The ultimate failure of impeachment will bring a lasting disgrace on the great cause of a People's Government. When we came triumphantly through the war, we gratefully proclaimed "The Government of the People by the People is ESTABLISHED!" We have met most sad disappointment. Amid accumulated and accumulating difficulties we find ourselves renewing the *experiment* of establishing a Republican government. If such outrages on the people are to be sustained by the United States Senate—such as we have been compelled to endure from Andrew Johnson—then of what use is it to have a President? Why attempt to maintain the pretension of having any impeachment power in the Constitution? More—why pretend to *have* a Constitution? What courage can we have to put forth our energies to elect Gen. U. S. Grant for President? If we succeed, what permanent good will be accomplished? If elected, we expect that *he* would fill the place in honest faith, but his successor might trample down all care, and contemptuously say to the American people, "You let *Andrew Johnson* go out of the Presidential chair unimpeached, *I therefore defy you to touch* ME." May not impeachment yet succeed? Cannot the work be accomplished by new articles of impeachment?

J. R. JOHNSON.

VIRGINIA, June 1, 1868.

[FOR THE STANDARD.]

THE BURIAL OF JAMES MOTT.

GATHER about him
Loved ones and blest,
Tenderly gaze—'tis
His last, last rest.
Speak of his goodness,
Tell of his love;
Think how the Father
Hath welcomed above.
Without a murmur
Close now the lid,
Neath its plain fold
Must the calm face be hid.

Come, dusky brothers,
We'll make room to-day;
'Tis well you should ask
To bear him away:
For long he hath borne
You—weak and distressed—
On the arm of his love,
On his pitiful breast;
O dark-browed bearers,
Mourners to-day,
The truest of friends
Ye carry away!
But in your sorrow,
Thank God that he gave
A soul so devoted,
So ready to save.

And ye who mourn helper,
Reformer and guide,
Like him, live ye nobly;
Stand firm 'gainst the tide.
It needs the pure heart,
The strong word and hand;
Ere long shall ye be
The conquering band.

AUGUSTINE CALDWELL.

Rock Bottom, Mass.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

A deputation of the residents of the District of Columbia appeared before the House Committee of the District, yesterday, to urge upon them the propriety of enfranchising the women of the District. Remarks were made by Mrs. Josephine S. Griffing, who stated the objects of the visit, and said that it was known to the managers of the movement that many women approved their course, though they were not willing to come out in open support of the movement. Professor J. H. K. Willcox read a memorial whose substance is, that as the experiment of freeing the slaves has been a humanitary triumph, Americans should also try this experiment of woman suffrage. Judge Walker said that the only way to insure the enforcement of the laws was to give those for whose benefit they were made the power to enforce them. Mrs. Mary J. Corner reviewed the District law regarding women, from which Judge Walker took notes for investigation. At the close of the interview the committee, without expressing any opinion, said that they should not soon be able to report, on account of the pressure of other business, and that they would give the subject their immediate attention.

Tribune's Wash. Cor. June 14.

The following letter from JOHN STUART MILL was read at the recent meeting in Washington, of the Universal Franchise Association, to the Secretary of which it was addressed:

AVIGNON, Jan. 16, 1868.

DEAR MADAM: I have watched the progress of opinion in favor of the enfranchisment of women in America with deep interest, believing that your country is destined to lead the way in this great question, as it has already done in so many others. I learn with great pleasure the formation of your association at Washington, and feel much honored that you have included my name in your Consulting Committee. I enclose a credit of £2 on New-York, not having been able to obtain one in Washington, being one from myself and the same amount from my step-daughter, Miss Helen Taylor, as subscriptions to your association, and should I have any likely opportunity I will not fail to mention your association among our friends in England, but the cause has in this country, as yet, so few supporters that those among us who are able to give pecuniary help find all their available means absorbed by the expenses necessary for diffusing the principles in our own country. You will bear with interest that a society has been formed in England for the same purpose.

I am, dear Madam, yours, very sincerely,

J. S. MILL.

[FOR THE STANDARD.]

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

[Lines suggested by seeing a remarkably perfect and life-like bust of Frederick Douglass, which has just been executed, by Mr. Dayton Morgan, of Cincinnati.]

I stand and gaze upon that sculptured face,
That massive brow, the domicil of thought,
Upon those wond'rous lines of faultless grace,
The skilful artist hath so truly wrought.

So true; I half expectant, list to hear,
With breath repressed, that flow of eloquence,
That breaks in thunders on the tyrant's ear,
And thrills the world in Liberty's defence.

Those classic lips, that shadow forth the soul,
Compressed with high resolve, or curled in scorn,
Before the accents, from them, burning roll,
Or melt in tenderness, o'er woe forlorn.

I note the struggles of his upward flight,
Opposed by all the elements of hate;
But he, who dared, and won Fame's truest height,
Now stands serene, the conqueror of fate.

I dream of some philosopher of old,
The while I gaze, whose mighty power of thought,
The mystic truths of Nature has unroll'd,
And wisdom to the after ages taught.

For here the majesty of mind I trace,
In all that grand contour—and hopeful see,
On those proud shoulders, that upbear a race,
A type, of what that down-trod race may be.

O, Art divine! Thy triumph is complete;
Thou hast the *spirit* to the clay allied,
Here, where the harmonies of Form all meet,
Like strains of music, caught and petrified.

E.

Rochester, June 9th, 1868.

THE UNIVERSAL REPUBLIC.

THE following letter from Mr. WILLIAM J. LINTON, the English artist, widely and favorably known, was read at the recent annual meeting of Friends of Human Progress at Waterloo, N. Y. Mr. Linton it will be seen is a Radical, and an earnest believer in Universal Republicanism:

210 EAST NINTH STREET, NEW YORK.
June 2d, 1868.

MY DEAR MR. POWELL: I find at the last moment that I cannot get to Waterloo without neglect of matters for which I have given my word. The disappointment is very great to me, for my desire was very strong not only to meet yourself and other friends, but also to embrace the opportunity of saying a few words in such good company on a question I have very much at heart and which, I think, should not be without interest to the "Friends of Human Progress." Perhaps so far as the more important object is concerned, a few words written may serve as well as words spoken. May I ask you to read them to the meeting.

It seems to me indeed that the great question of human progress is a question of a new religion; but that a new religion is not to be had except on the political ground. Religious action now, whether in State churches or in voluntary organizations, is absolutely divorced from the political, and no reform can be had or avail which does not bring religious action into the practical daily life of the whole people. Politics on the other hand are now only irreligious. They have been cut away from God, from duty and right; and have sunk to be only a contest or a compromise between tyrants and tricky or trading buyers and sellers of expediencies. There is no real provision for, and, till the religious element is infused into them, there can be in them no real organization of the life of man. The separation of the Church and the State is fatal to human progress. We want a State-Church—not a separate class of priests State endowed or supported by voluntary contributions, but the recognition of the Church and State as one, in the same way that we recognize the soul and the body of the man as one. The old Puritan idea is the true one; their mistake lay in trying to build a religious State upon outworn Jewish dogmas, upon a mere book, only a book after all, though it be *the* book. But their *idea* was right enough: God's will to be done on earth as in heaven, not only on Sundays in Churches, but everyday and everywhere, in Congress and in the market place as well; perhaps in this practical age there first, before you can get a Church at all, before the consummate flower of the new faith for which we are seeking can blossom out into that poetic ideal of life which we call religion. There are times when a great religion is proclaimed and men fused in the red heat of a new faith can so reorganize their lives in accordance with the revelation. There are times when we must slowly work our way from the outward, the practical, to the inner life. These are the days of political renovation. These are the days in which we live. The Gospel of this century must have its first outcome in politics, the new Church must be a political association: outside of that we shall get no religion at all, but only a rebuilding of some empty Churches.

You have pious parties and you have political parties. You want a religious party, to take the religious element into politics, and to be as practical as present politicians. We want to get rid of the priest and the party politician, and to band together instead the practical religious reformers of their age. We want to bring together and form a party of men and women who shall dare, on the basis of a belief in God and of man's duty, to lay the first stones of the Republic. For now, neither here any more than in Europe, is there any real republic, or understanding of Republicanism—that true republicanism which is not the surrendering of your lives to the dictation of Congresses, but the active and continual assertion of popular sovereignty through making your own laws, caring further that you have honest servants to enforce them. And if you can so step out of mere boyhood, out of the leading strings of Constitutionalism and away from the tutelage of Senators and Representatives, you will find that that same belief in God and duty which has made you men, which has lifted your Nation into manhood, involves the yet more manly duty of championing the right the world through, involves the abandonment of your baby policy of non-intervention—a policy fit enough for those who can not yet walk alone, but an atheistic and a damnable policy for a full grown man or Nation. Glory to America that she has had strength to put down the rebellion of the slave-holder. Shame to America if she, having so won and established her place among the Nations, forgets or despises the duty which that place should indicate. Are you building up a Godly life here for yourselves alone? Do you lay the foundations of your commonwealth and of the temple in which your faith is to be uttered, only to violate yourself like a modern China, and that at the very time when Chinese walls are coming down? If you believe in the republican organization of a single Nation as the one way necessary in order that that Nation shall obtain its full growth and completeness, can you shut out the belief in the same necessity for all other Nations? Can you as good republicans shut out the necessary consequence of your republicanism, the belief in the solidarity of humanity, the consequent duty of every Nation and of every individual in every Nation, to aid to the utmost the striving of other Nations and of other men toward the establishment of the Universal Republic?

I am not asking for any immediate declaration on your part, I am not calling for special action; but I do ask you very earnestly to ponder my words till they shall so leaven your hearts as to compel some declaration of assent to them and such action as should follow that. I ask of any truly earnest men and women only this—that while ignorant priest-led Canadians are earnest enough to enlist for the papal service, free Americans shall not be ashamed to take the other side: that while an American Consul can take his rifle against the Garibaldians who would have freed Rome, your enlightened "friends of human progress" shall not be content with words. And when you accept this word, then in the name of the European Republican party, of which Joseph Mazzini is the Chief, I will ask how you can help us in the coming fight, which is for your freedom as well as ours.

W. J. LINTON.

A RADICAL ERROR.

To the Editor of the Standard:

BOSTON, May 29, 1868.

I ASK the use of your columns, to draw attention to an expression which fell from the lips of Wendell Phillips this evening.

Had the meeting of the Free Religious Association, been open to discussion, I would have staid late to repudiate it.

In a very noble and effective speech, Mr. Phillips was trying to show the difference between the empirical relief of social evil, and its final cure. In illustration he made use of the following words:

"Prostitution corrupts *one* sex. When the seven devils were driven out of the house why did they return? Because the place was empty. Had the chamber been full of angels, they could not have come!"

What I object to, is the first statement, which Mr. Phillips no more believes than I do. No such statement however subsidiary, should pass unrebuked by a woman, who can either speak or write.

Prostitution corrupts *both* sexes. In order that it should exist at all, for every one woman that it strikes down, it must prostrate from six to ten men. It corrupts a FEW women, but it corrups almost *all* men—corrupts their habits of thinking, where it does not touch their habits of life.

We hear of "fallen" women but never of "fallen" men, yet no woman, ever falls to the lowest, without dragging down with her, *more* than one man.

A man falls but he keeps about his business, is not marked by the world, is thought as good as his fellows.

A woman falls, the victim generally of a poor education, or an unselfish folly, and society refuses her daily bread, unless she eat it as the fruit of continued ill-doing.

Very truly yours,

CAROLINE H. DALL.

LITERARY.

A NEW periodical entited *The Monthly Phonographic Magazine*, has recently been started. It is printed entirely in Phonographic outlines, and is edited and published by Mr. James E. Munson, of New York, the author of several recent works on phonography. The objects of the magazine are set forth in its Prospectus as follows:

"First, to provide reading matter for those who are learning Phonography; and, second, to furnish such news, information, and instruction in regard to shorthand, as may be of public interest. Such a character we shall aim to give to our magazine. We shall not use it as a medium for promulgating "isms," or advocating particular theories of medicine, science, politics, religion or society; but shall try to make it a good Phonographic reading-book, and to that end shall insert selected extracts of an appropriate character, printed in carefully prepared Phonographic outlines. Each month at least one original article on Phonography, or some kindred subject will appear. The latest news in relation to short-hand, both in Europe and the United States, will also be given as fully as our space will permit. For this purpose correspondence has already been opened with eminent stenographers in England and Germany. A limited amount of space will be given to answering the inquiries of correspondents, if deemed to be of general interest."

THE BIBLE RULE OF TEMPERANCE. By Geo. Duffield, D. D. 206 pages. New York: National Temperance Society and Publication House.

Part First of this small volume presents an investigation of temperance principles in the light of Bible authority. It is an able argument for total abstinence. All scriptural texts referring to the use of wine, etc., are critically examined to prove that none of these can be quoted to justify the moderate use of intoxicating drinks as a beverage.

Part Second is devoted to the "Duty of the Churches in relation to the wine for the Communion Cup." It is wisely argued that "if vices be tolerated in the church, they will triumph in the world." * * * "Slavery in the churches strengthened the hands of rulers and States that framed iniquity by law. Intemperance in churches encouraged it in the world." The writer says he "has unhappily had cognizance of the intoxication of a reformed drunkard who went directly from the communion table to the tavern to satisfy his stimulated habit. Certainly these are pertinent warnings to be presented to the consideration of the church. We suggest, however, that since unfermented wines are so rare an article in these days, it would be wiser and safer still to substitute water for even the "pure juice of the grape" in the communion service.

THREE LITTLE SPADES. By Anna Warner. 268 pages. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This charming little book for children deserves a welcome in every household. It teaches just what children ought to know of flowers and gardening, and so happily weaves this instruction into the fascinating story, that the child will learn also that naughty weeds are as prone to grow in his own heart as they were in the gardens where these three little spades labored so industriously. Its mission will be valuable also to cultivate a love for flowers and a taste for the beautiful in nature.

It is called a child's book, but we think no true-hearted parent could read it without deriving useful lessons for the culture of their children.

OUR PARISH. By Emily C. Pearson. 252 pages. New York: National Temperance Society and Publication House.

This is one of a series of temperance stories for children issued by the National Temperance Society. It truthfully presents the manifold evils resulting from the "still" to the owner's family, as well as to the families of his customers. It is well adapted to the Sunday School.

The Phrenological Journal for July contains portraits of many distinguished men and women—English, French, German, Russian, Grecian, Swedish, Austrian, Polish, Swiss, Dutch, Turkish and Japanese; also, Lord Brougham, Abbott Lawrence, Zadok Pratt; Peter Von Cornelius; Verdi; Miss Pittsinger, and twelve Roman Catholic Prelates and Priests; Mahomet, and his Religion. "The Development Theory," by Prof. Gill; Lady Dafferty, or the Woman Question; Thirteen National Types of Female Beauty; Professional Instruction in Practical Phrenology; Indians and Mountains of Oregon; a French Educator on American Schools, and much other very interesting matter. A new volume begins with this number.

RECEIVED.

MARRYING BY LOT. A Tale of the Primitive Moravians. By Charlotte B. Mortimer, author of "Morton Montague." Cloth, 404 pp. New York: G. P. Putnam & Son.

The Use of Tobacco, and The Evils, Physical Mental, Moral, and social, Resulting Therefrom. By John H. Griscom, M.D. New York: G. P. Putnam & Son.

Littell's Living Age. Boston: Littell & Gay.

Every Saturday. Boston: Ticknor & Field.

Harper's Bazar. An Illustrated Ladies' Magazine of Fashion. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Monthly Phonographic Magazine. New York: James E. Munson, Publisher.

Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Otterbein University, Waterville, Ohio.

Putnam's Monthly for July. New York: G. P. Putnam & Son.

The Phrenological Journal (Illustrated) for July. New York: S. R. Wells.

Harper's New Monthly Magazine for July. New York: Harper & Brothers.

IN THE WINDOW OF WHEELER & WILSON, No. 625 Broadway, may be seen their Paris Gold Medal, an illustration of their Exposition at Paris; their No. 1 and No. 300,000 Sewing Machine (the former having been in constant use fifteen years); their new Button-hole Attachment, for families and manufacturers, making one thousand button-holes a day; their new and noiseless machine, and a miniature working model *fac simile* Wheeler & Wilson Machine, complete in every part, with case of elaborately carved tortoise shell which was one of the mechanical gems at the Paris Exposition.

Special Notices.

SPECIAL NOTICE.—The Executive Committee of the FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION wish to raise $5000 for the work of the Association the present year.

The SPECIAL object for which they desire this mopey is to establish in some central place in Boston a FREE READING ROOM, religious and literary in its character; a Reading Room which shall be FREE in every respect, ESPECIALLY IN THE FACT OF BEING KEPT OPEN ON SUNDAYS, which shall furnish also a place for the headquarters of the Association and be a convenient resort for social and business conference among persons interested in the general principles and objects of the Association. Donations are solicited from friends in Boston and elsewhere; and RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, 98 Federal staeet, Boston, Treasurer of the Association, will receive such contributions.

7 4t WILLIAM J. POTTER, Secretary.

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THE undersigned respectfully announces that he has established a PUBLISHING AND BOOK FURNISHING AGENCY, and is prepared to execute all orders that may be intrusted to him, with care and promptness. Authors desiring a publisher or wishing their works superintended while in press, will do well to confer with him, as his experience in the business and established connections, afford peculiar facilities for the furtherance of their interests. Works of all established authors furnished at the shortest notice and at the lowest rates. Office 39 Nassau street, Room 43.

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WILLIAM P. TOMLINSON.

LOUIS NAPOLEON, hitherto the carrier of our paper in this city, will act as our Agent, and receive subscriptions and advertisements on account of THE STANDARD.

NOTICE TO CITY SUBSCRIBERS.

THE STANDARD will hereafter be delivered to our subscribers in this city by the carriers of the Post office Department. Should any irregularity occur in its delivery from imperfect addresses, or from any other cause, we hope to be promptly advised. To provide for the necessary prepayment of postage the subscription price will, from this date, be three dollars and fifty cents a year to subcribers within the city limits.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE on Fifth street is closed. Persons who have business with the State Society, who wish to pay their subscription for THE STANDARD, or who wish to subscribe for the paper, will please call on the undersigned, who has consented to act as General Agent for a time.

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MR. RICHARD MASON, of Baltimore, Md., will hereafter act as Agent for THE STANDARD in that city. His address is No. 27 West Fayette street.

Advertisements.

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Miscellaneous Department.

ISABELLA OF AUSTRIA.

BY JOHN C. WHITTIER.

[ISABELLA, Infanta of Parma and consort of Joseph, of Austria, predicted her death, immediately after her marriage with the Emperor Amidst the gayety and splendor of Vienna and Presburg, she was reserved and melancholy: she believed that Heaven had given her a view of the future, and that her child, the namesake of the great Maria Theresa, would perish with her. Her prediction was fulfilled.]

Midst the palace-bowers of Hungary—imperial Presburg's pride,
With the noble-born and beautiful assembled at her side,
She stood beneath the summer-heaven—the soft winds sighing on,
Stirring the green and arching boughs, like dancers in the sun.
The beautiful pomegranite's gold, the snowy orange bloom:
The lotus and the creeping vine, the rose's meek perfume;
The willow—crossing with its green some statue's golden hair—
All that might charm th' exquisite sense, or light the soul, was there.

But she—a monarch's treasured one—leaned gloomily apart,
With her dark eye cast down and a shadow on her heart,
Young, beautiful, and dearly-loved, what sorrow hath she known?
Are not the hearts and swords of all held sacred as her own?
Is not her lord the kingliest in battle-field or bower?
The foremost in the council-hall, or at the banquet hour?
Is not his love as pure and deep as his own Danube's tide?
And wherefore, in her princely home, weeps Isabel, his bride?

She raised her jeweled hand and flung her veiling tresses back,
Bathing its snowy tapering within their glossy black—
A tear fell on the orange leaves—rich gem and mimic blossom,
And fringed robe shook fearfully upon her sighing bosom;
"Smile on, smile on," she murmured low, "for all is joy around,"
Shadow and sunshine, stainless sky, soft airs, and blossomed ground,
'Tis meet the light of heart should smile when nature's brow is fair,
And melody and fragrance meet, twin sisters of the air.

"But ask me not to share with you the beauty of the scene—
The fountain-fall, mosaic walk, and tasselated green;
And point not to the mild blue sky, or glorious summer sun;
I know how very fair is all the hand of God hath done—
The hills, the sky, the sunlit cloud, the fountain leaping forth,
The swaying trees, the scented flowers, the dark green robes of earth—
I love them still; yet I have learned to turn aside from all,
And nevermore my heart must own their sweet but fatal thrall!

"And I could love the noble one whose mighty name I bear,
And closer to my bursting heart his hallow'd image wear;
And I could watch our sweet young flower, unfolding day by day,
And taste of that unearthly bliss which mothers only, may;
But no! I may not cling to earth—that voice is in my ear,
That shadow lingers by my side—the death-wail and the bier,
The cold and starless night of death, whose day may never beam,
The silence and the loathsomeness, the sleep which hath no dream.

"Oh God! to leave this fair bright world, and more than all to know
The moment when the spectral One shall deal his fearful blow!
To know the day, the very hour! to feel the tide roll on;
To shudder at the gloom before, and weep the sunshine gone!
To count the days, the few short days of light and life and breath—
Between me and the noisome grave—the voiceless home of death.
Alas! if, knowing, feeling this, I murmur at my doom,
Let not thy frowning, O my God! lend darkness to the tomb.

"SO! I have borne my spirits up, and smiled amid the chill
Remembrance of my certain doom, which lingers with me still;
I would not cloud my fair child's brow, nor let a tear-drop dim
The eye that met my wedded lord's, lest it should sadden him.
But there are moments when the gush of feeling hath its way;
That hidden tide of unnamed woe, nor fear, nor love may stay,
Smile on, smile on, light-hearted ones, your sun of joy is high;
Smile on, and leave the doom'd of Heaven alone to weep and die."

A funeral chant was wailing through Vienna's holy pile;
A coffin with its gorgeous pall was borne along the aisle;
The banners of a kingly race waved high above the dead:
A mighty band of mourners came—a king was at its head;
A youthful king, with mournful tread and dim and tearful eye,
He had not dreamed that one so pure as his fair bride could die;
And sad and wild above the throng the funeral anthem rung;
"Mourn for the hope of Austria, mourn for the loved and young."

The wail went up from other lands—the vallies of the Hun;
Fair Parma with its orange bowers and hills of vine and sun;
The lilies of Imperial France droop'd as the sound went by,
The long lament of cloister'd Spain was mingled with the cry,
The dwellers in Colorno's halls, the slowak in his cave,
The bow'd at the Escurial, the Magyar sternly brave—
All wept the early stricken flower, and burst from every tongue:
"Mourn for the dark-eyed Isabel—mourn for the loved and young."

GREEN DEVILS.—In my own experience, the cases that I have most despaired of among those who have come to me for spiritual help, have been persons that were nervously sick. I could do them no good, because I could not reach the conditions of their body. If a person will drink green tea, which is like the quintessence of a thousand needle-points in its effects on a man's nerves, what is the use of his coming to me with complaints about blue devils? They are not blue devils; they are green devils! If a man gorges and oppresses his stomach, and so overlays the keys of life—for the keys of life are located in the stomach, as the keys of the piano and the organ are located in their appropriate places in those instruments—and he comes to me for deliverance from temptation, or for the removal of obscurities that stand between his soul and God, unless I can have control of that man's habits of eating, what can I do for him?—*Beecher's Royal Truths.*

THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

THE last volume of Froude's "History of England," contains a finely written account of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, which for graphic description and veracity of details has no superior in literature. On perusing it, the blood runs cold even at this distance of time from the occurence:

Night had not fallen. Guise and Aumale were still lurking in the city, and came with the Duke of Montpensier at Catharine's summons. The persons who were to be killed, were in different parts of the town. Each took charge of a district. Montpensier promised to see to the Palace; Guise and his uncle undertook the Admiral; and below these, the word went out to the leaders of the already organized sections, who had been disappointed once, but whose hour was now come. The Catholics were to recognize one another in the confusion by a white handkerchief on the left arm and a white cross on their caps. The Royal Guard, Catholics to the man, were instruments ready made for the work. Guise assembled the officers; he told them that the Huguenots were preparing to rise, and that the King had ordered their instant punishment. The officers asked no questions, and desired no better service. The business was to begin at dawn. The signal would be the tolling of the great bell at the Palace of Justice, and the first death was to be Coligny's.

The soldiers stole to their posts. Twelve hundred lay along the Seine, between the river and the Hotel de Ville; other companies watched at the Louvre. As the darkness waned, the Queen Mother went down to the gate. The stillness of the dawn was broken by an accidental pistol-shot. Her heart sank, and she sent off a messengar to tell Guise to pause. But it was too late. A minute later, the bell boomed out, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew had commenced.

The Admiral was feverish with his wounds, and had not slept. The surgeon and a Huguenot minister, named Malin, had passed the night with him. At the first sounds he imagined that there was an *emeute* of the Catholics at the Court; but the crash of his own gate, and shots and shrieks in the court below the window, told him that, whatever was the cause, his own life was in danger. He sat up in bed. "M. Malin," he said, "pray for me. I have long expected this." Some of his attendants rushed half-dressed into the room. "Gentlemen, save yourselves," he said to them; "I commend myself to my Saviour."

They scattered, escaping, or trying to escape, by the roofs and balconies; a German servant alone remained with him. The door was burst immediately open thereafter, and the officer who was in charge of the house, a Bohemian servant of Guise, and a renegade Huguenot soldier, rushed in with drawn swords.

"Are you the Admiral?" the Bohemian cried.

"I am," replied Coligny; "and, young man, you should respect my age and my wounds; but the term of my life does not rest in the pleasure of such as thou."

The Bohemian, with a curse, stabbed him in the breast, and struck him again on the head. The window was open. "Is it done?" cried Guise from the court below, "is it done? Fling him out that we may see him." Still breathing, the Admiral was hurled upon the pavement. The Bastard of Angoulême wiped the blood from his face to be sure of his identity, and then kicking him as he lay, shouted: "So far well. Courage, my brave comrades! now for the rest." One of the Duc de Nevers' people hacked off the head. A rope was knotted about the ankles, and the corpse was dragged into the street, amid the howling crowd. Teligny, who was in the adjoining house, had sprung out of bed at the first disturbance, ran down into the court, and climbed by a ladder to the roof. From behind a parapet he saw his father-in-law murdered, and, scrambling on the tiles, concealed himself in a garret; but he was soon tracked, torn from his hiding place, and thrown upon the stones with a dagger in his side. Rochefoucault and the rest of the Admiral's friends who lodged in the neighborhood were disposed of in the same way, and so complete was the surprise that there was not the most faint attempt at resistance.

Montpensier had been no less successful in the Louvre. The staircases were all beset. The retinues of the King of Navarre and the Prince had been lodged in the Palace at Charles' particular desire. Their names were called over, and as they descended unarmed into the quadrangle, they were hewn in pieces. There, in heaps, they fell below the royal window, under the eyes of the miserable King, who was forced forward, between his mother and brother, that he might be seen as the accomplice of the massacre. Most of the victims were killed. Some fled wounded up the stairs, and were slaughtered in the presence of the Princesses. One gentleman rushed bleeding into the apartment of the newly-married Margaret, clung to her dress, and was hardly saved by her intercession. By 7 o'clock the work that Guise and his immediate friends had undertaken was finished, with but one failure.

The Count Montgomery and the Vidame of Chartres lodged in the Faubourg St. Germian, across the water, on the outskirts of the town. A party of assassins had been sent to despatch them, but had loitered on the way to do some private murdering on their own account. When the news reached Montgomery that Paris was up, he supposed that the Catholics had arisen against the Court. He ran down the river's bank with a handful of men behind him, opposite the Tulleries, intending to cross to help his friends; but the boats were all secured on the other side. The soldiers shot at him from under the place. It was said—it rests only on the worthless authority of Brantome—that Charles himself in his frenzy snatched a gun from a servant and fired at him also. Montgomery did not wait for further explanation. He, the Vidame, and a few others, sprang to their horses, rode for their lives, and escaped to England.

The mob meanwhile was in full enjoyment. Long possessed with the accursed formula of the priests, they believed that the enemies of God were given into their hands. While dukes and lords were killing at the Louvre, the bands of the sections imitated them with success; men, women, and even children, striving which should be the first in the pious work of murder. All Catholic Paris was at the business, and every Huguenot householder had neighbors to know and denounce them. Through street and lane, and quay and causeway, the air rang with yells and curses, pistol shots and crashing windows; the roadways were strewed with mangled bodies, the doors were blocked by the dead and dying. From garret, closet, roof or stable, crouching creatures were torn shrieking out, and stabbed and hacked at; boys practised their hands by strangling babies in their cradles, and headless bodies were trailed along the trottoirs. Carts struggled through the crowd carrying the dead in piles to the Seine, which by special Providence, was that morning in flood, to assist in sweeping the heresy away. Avarice, fear, malice, and revenge, all had free indulgence, and they glutted themselves to nausea. Even the distinctness of creed itself became at last confounded, and every man or woman who had a quarrel to avenge, a lawsuit to settle, a wife or husband grown inconvenient, or a prospective inheritance if obstacles could be removed, found a ready road to the object of their desires.

Towards midday some of the quieter people attempted to restore order. A party of the town police made their way to the palace. Charles caught eagerly at their offers of service, and bade them to do their utmost to put the people down; but it was all in vain. The soldiers, maddened with plunder and blood could not be brought to assist, and without them nothing could be done. All that afternoon and night, and the next day and the day after, the horrible scenes continued, till the flames burned down at last for want of fuel. The number who perished in Paris was computed variously at from 2,000 to 10,000. In this, as in all such instances, the lowest estimate is probably the nearest to the truth.

HOLMES TO LONGFELLOW.

THE following tribute was read recently at a private farewell dinner to the poet Longfellow, previous to his leaving for Europe:

OUR Poet, who has taught the Western breeze
To waft his songs before him o'er the seas,
Will find them wheresoe'er his wanderings reach
Borne on the spreading tide of English speech,
Twin with the rhythmic waves that kiss the farthest beach.

Where shall the singing bird a stranger be,
That finds a nest for him in every tree?
How shall he travel who can never go
Where his own voice the echoes do not know,
Where his own garden flowers no longer learn to grow?

Ah, gentlest soul! how gracious, how benign,
Breathes through our troubled life that voice of thine,
Filled with a sweetness born of happier spheres,
That wins and warms, that kindles, softens, cheers,
That calms the wildest woe and stays the bitterest tears!

Forgive the simple words that sound like praise;
The mist before me dims my gilded phrase;
Our speech at best is half alive and cold,
And save that tenderer moments make us bold,
Our whitening lips would close, their truest truth untold.

We who behold our autumn sun below
The Scorpion's sign against the Archer's bow,
Know well what parting means of friend from friend;
After the snows no freshening dews descend,
And what the frost has marred, the sunshine will not mend.

So we all count the months, the weeks, the days,
That keep thee from us in unwonted ways,
Grudging to alien hearths our widowed time;
And one unwinds a clew of heartless rhyme
To track thee, following still through each remotest clime.

What wishes, longings, blessings, prayers shall be,
The more than golden freight that floats with thee!
And know, whatever welcome thou shalt find—
Thou who hast won the hearts of half mankind—
The proudest, fondest love thou leavest still behind!

May 23, 1868. O. W. H.

EXCESS OF READING.

THIS is a reading age; and, precisely because it is so reading an age, any book which is the result of profound meditation is perhaps less likely to be duly and profitably read than at any other former period. The world reads too much and too quickly to read well. When books were few, to get through one was a work of time and labor; what was written with thought was read with thought, and with a desire to extract from it as much of the materials of knowledge as possible. But, when almost every person who can spell, can and will write, what is to be done? It is difficult to know what to read, except by reading everything; and so much of the world's business is now transacted through the press, that it is necessary to know what is printed, if we desire to know what is going on. Opinion weighs with so vast a weight in the balance of events, that ideas of no value in themselves are of importance from the mere circumstance that they *are* ideas, and have a *bona-fide* existence as such anywhere out of Bedlam. The world, in consequence, gorges itself with intellectual food; and, in order to swallow the more, *bolts* it. Nothing is now read slowly, or twice over. Books are run through with no less rapidity, and scarcely leave a more durable impression, than a newspaper article. It is from this, among other causes, that so few books are produced of any value. The lionness in the fable boasted that, though she produced only one at a birth, that one was a lion; but if each lion only counted for one, and each leveret for one, the advantage would all be on the side of the hare. When every unit is individually weak, it is only multitude that tells. What wonder that the newspapers should carry all before them? A book produces hardly a greater effect than an article, and there can be three hundred and sixty-five of these in one year. He, therefore, who should and would write a book, and write it in the proper manner of writing a book, now dashes down his first hasty thoughts, or what he mistakes for thoughts, in a periodical. And the public is in the predicament of an indolent man, who cannot bring himself to apply his mind vigorously to his own affairs, and over whom, therefore, not he who speaks most wisely, but he who speaks most frequently obtains the influence.

J. S. Mill.

LIGHTNING FREAKS.—The New Haven *Journal* of yesterday gives the following account of the freaks of lightning in that vicinity on Wednesday:

During the first thunder shower, yesterday afternoon, the electric fluid played some fantastic tricks of rather an alarming character at the house of Mr. Robert A. Stevens, near Evergreen Cemetery. The house is provided with a substantial rod, and the fluid came in contact with the building at a point about fifteen feet from it. The building was struck on the northeast corner, at about fourteen feet from the ground, and descending on the inside, took different directions. One sliver of lightning appeared to take lovingly to the casement of the window, and cut off a strip about one-half inch square; then took to the window weights, and thence shot through the floor of the stoop outside the house, and going through the floor, passed into the cellar, and divided itself across the cellar wall—one-half passing into the cellar part; and the other half into the basement, where were a daughter of Mr. Stevens and another young lady, who were ironing. Here was seen a ball of fire, which moved past Miss Stevens, singing the side of her head, and going out of the back door.

The other half of the bolt took an exactly opposite course, and lost itself somewhere inside the front cellar. The bolt or fire-ball which scorched Miss Stevens, after passing out the door, followed lengthwise the door-sill a piece, and attached itself to the water conductor, which runs down through the ground about fifteen feet, and followed it up some ten feet, it raising up the ground as though a mole had been at work, and at the end of the conductor came out, throwing up the ground in every direction, making a small hole as if bored with a machine. The parlor floor was littered with fine splinters from the window casing, and there was a strong smell of smoke and sulphur in the apartment. The pod was a good one and in good order, and it appears was no sort of protection. It was attached to the building by insulators of glass, in the most approved method. Are lightning rods really of much use?

THEODORE WINTHROP.

KILLED AT GREAT BETHEL, JUNE 10, 1861.

[THE last *Harper's Weekly* has the following beautiful lines by George William Curtis.]

How often in the strange old days
Before the war's sharp summons blew,
We strolled through all these woodland ways,
While loud the bluebird sang and flew!

How gayly of a thousand things
We talked; and rustling through the leaves,
We sang the songs of other springs,
And dreamed the dreams of summer eves!

To this bold height our footsteps came,
Our eyes beheld that distant sea;
To-day I sit and call his name,
And know he will not answer me.

O friend, beyond this voice of mine,
Beyond these eyes, this baffled hand,
Immortal in a youth divine,
I see thy gracious figure stand.

We do not count each other lost,
Divided though our ways may be;
Two ships by different breezes tost,
Still sailing the familiar sea.

No cloud of death can long obscure,
Nor touch with any doubt or fear,
The love that keeps the old faith pure,
Contented whether there or here.

G. W. C.

STATEN ISLAND, June, 1868.

BEAUTIFUL EXTRACT. The following waif, afloat on the "sea of reading", we clip from an exchange. We do not know its paternity, but it contains some wholesome truths, beautifully set forth:

Men seldom think of the great event of death until the shadow falls across their own path, hiding forever from their eyes the traces of the loved ones whose living smiles were the sunlight of the existence. Death is the great antagonist of life, and the cold thought of the tomb is the skeleton of all feasts. We do not want to go through the dark valley, although its passages may lead to paradise; and, with Charles Lamb, we do not want to lie down in the muddy grave, even with kings and princes for our bed-fellows.

But the fiat of nature is inexorable. There is no appeal of relief from the great law which dooms us to dust. We flourish and we fade as the leaves of the forest, and the flower that blooms and withers in a day has not a frailer hold upon life than the mightiest monarch that ever shook the earth with his footsteps. Generations of man appear and vanish as the grass, and the countless multitude that throngs the world to-day, will to-morrow disappear as the footsteps on the shore.

In the beautiful drama of Ion, the instinct of immortality, so eloquently uttered by the death devoted Greek, finds a deep response in every thoughtful soul. When about to yield his young existence as a sacrifice to fate, his beloved Clemanthe asks if they shall not meet again, to which he replies: "I have asked that dreadful question of the hills that look eternal—of the clear streams that flow forever—of the stars among whose field of azure my raised spirit hath walked in glory. All were dumb. But while I gaze upon thy living face, I feel that there is something in the love that mantles through, its beauty that cannot wholly perish. We shall meet again, Clemanthe".

A RARE COLLECTION OF AMERICAN COINS.—The *Morning Call*, of San Francisco, announces that Messrs. Repiton & Bumpus, of 626 Montgomery street, in that city, have perhaps the only complete set of American coins in the hands of private individuals in the United States. They have the American silver dollar for every year, from 1794 to 1866, half dollars from 1794 to 1866, quarter dollars from 1796 to 1867, dimes from 1796 to 1861, half dimes from 1794 to 1867, cents from 1723 to 1867, three-cent pieces from 1851 to 1867, two-cent pieces from 1863 to 1867, and half cents from 1793 to 1857. This collection has occupied more than 15 years of Mr. Repiton's time and cost about $20,000. As an instance of the rarity of some of the coins we will state that the silver dollar of 1804 cost $950, and Mr. Repiton had, before he succeeded in finding one he could purchase, made an unsuccessful tender of $1,500 for one in the possession of a gentleman residing in Salem, Massachusetts. Of the silver dollars of 1838, only 18 were minted, and consequently they are very rare. The silver dollar of 1852 is also very rare and is rated by numismatologists at from $300 to $500. Besides this collection of American coins, Messrs. Repiton & Bumpus have specimens of the coins of nearly all nations, and some coins over 2,000 years old. The coins are a great curiosity, and their owners could readily sell them for $50,000.

AN INTELLIGENT CAT.—A correspondent of the London *Spectator*, sending some anecdotes of cats, says: "But the cat of cats was a tortoiseshell, sixteen years old when I made her acquaintance, as I was assured by her owner, who had had her from kittenhood. She was getting fat and lazy, yet she would not only follow him about the garden when he was at work, even in cold weather, in preference to lying on her warm mat by the fireside, but would catch birds as he had trained her to do, without ruffling a feather of their plumage, and bring them to him in triumph alive and unhurt, and showing great pride in the feat. The most extraordinary thing was the attachment she formed for a young dog that was given to one of the inmates of the household, and the sympathy she showed for him when he was beaten. There was a wide kitchen chimney where wood was burnt, as usual in French country houses; Carlo was very fond of getting into the ashes, but this was strictly forbidden, and a switch was kept in the chimney-corner to chastise him with when he transgressed. This stick frequently disappeared in an unaccountable manner, till at last it was discovered, by ocular demonstration, that the old cat carried it off to prevent the punishment of her friend. Who can say there was not benevolence as well as affection developed in this animal?"

ORIGIN OF BEESWAX.—M. De Trariere gives a clue to the formation of beeswax. He has satisfied himself that the acid poison of the sting has something to do in the matter. When bees are making wax they are very quiet, he tells us, and make no attempts to sting. When, however, the animal is only eating honey, it is extremely irritable, and, in the absence of Christian skins, will make stabs with his sting at the straw and wood of the hive, indicating clearly that at this time the animal is incommoded by the distension of the poison vesicle, the contents of which were before employed in the formation of the wax.

A NEW THEORY OF LIGHT.—A combination of atomic emissions and undulatory vibration. The truth being that light and heat are imponderable matter propagated by undulatory vibrations, or in other words that a ray of light from the sun may be composed of all the elementary substances in nature, as indicated by the solar spectrum. The lines seen in spectrums of different lights not only represent certain substances, but may be samples of the very atoms, and that each substance produces its own color and requires a specific grade of vibration for its propagation.

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